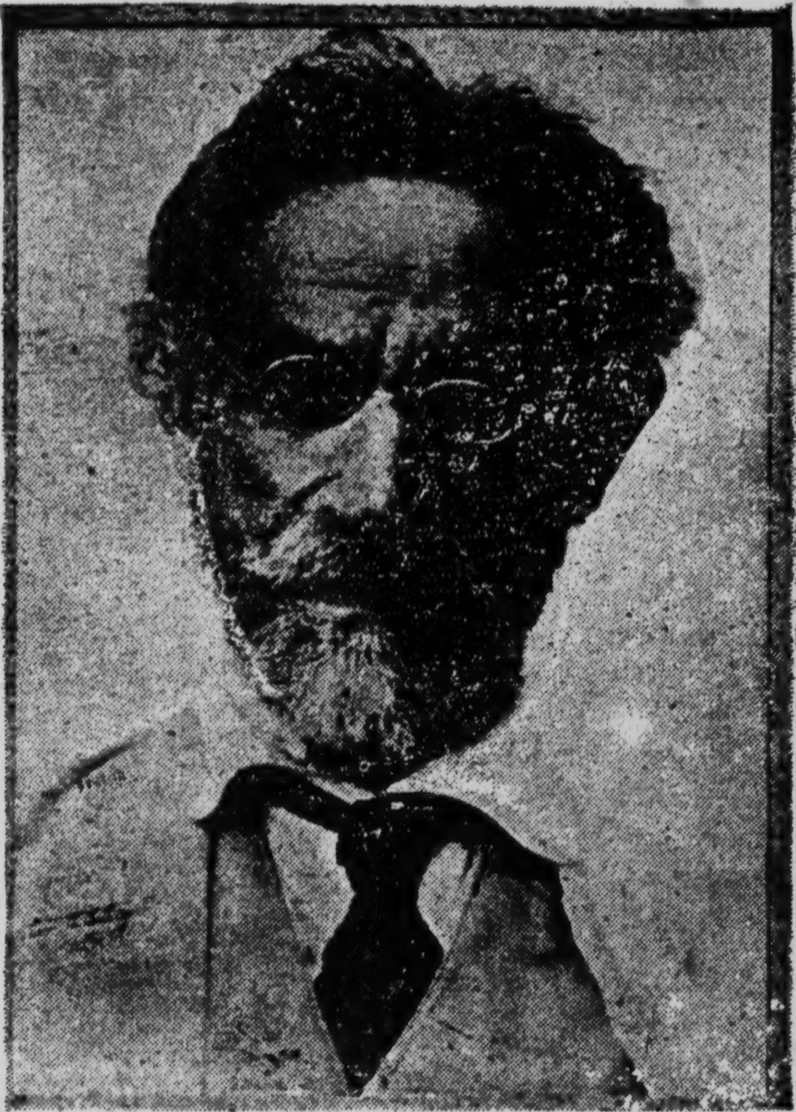
1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak RX2

● 114

/General information on the author and his work, written by I͡A. P. Al'kor (Koshkin), will be found in category 116, pp. 1-26, 30-33./



L. IA. Shternberg

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Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin

T 114 /xxxiii cont./ His great merit lies in the fact that, thanks to him, a number of /xxxiv/ young investigators have directed their research to the study of the Tungus; he widely shared his experience, his knowledge, and his thoughts with his students and inspired them to work with his enthusiasm.

A 114 Shternberg devoted far less time to another Far Eastern nationality, the Ainu, than he did to the Gilyak, but he nonetheless succeeded in studying them quite thoroughly, ● G [114] which is evident from his outstanding last work before his death, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu Problem/" /untranslated/, where various aspects of Ainu life are touched upon, and historico-cultural, anthropological, archaeological, linguistic, and other materials are utilized. A [174] Shternberg in this work shows that the Aihu are not Mongols and are not Paleo-Asiatics, as they were considered to be, but are related with respect to culture, language, and anthropology to the peoples of Indonesia or Austronesia. This hypothesis, along with new discoveries in the realm of the past migrations and intercourse of the Pacific peoples, opened before him broad horizons for explaining the past fate of the Pacific peoples, including our Far Eastern peoples, but his unexpected death cut off these broad scientific plans.

In the work "Kul't inau u plemeni ainu /The Cult of inau among the Ainu/" /untranslated/, Shternberg gives a detailed description of this peculiar cultural phenomenon and advances the clever proposition that inau (sharpened sticks) are not offerings, as was supposed earlier, but intermediaries between the gods and man. Here we should also note Shternberg's interesting thought on the relationship of this cult (and also the cult of the twins) with the cults of India.

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* 114 With his many-faceted research on family-clan relations, common law, religious beliefs, primitive art, and national languages and folklore, as well as the archaeology and anthropology of the Far East, L. IA. Shternberg quite deservedly won for himself a name as the best expert on the peoples of the Far East and, along with this, one as the best Russian ethnographer of his time.

/14 cont./

101 174 197 The Gilyak are not the only ones who find themselves in such an isolated position in northeast Asia. The Ainu, the Yukagir, the Chukchee, and the Koryak find themselves in the same position. An attempt has even been made to combine them in a common group of Paleo-Asiatics (Schrenck), but the basis of this classification was purely external in character, namely, their common position on the edge of the continent, and the consequent probability that in the course of time these once numerous peoples were in part destroyed and in part driven out by more recent newcomers who came from the interior of the continent to the edge of Asia. All hope of discovering a genetic relationship between the Gilyak and the other tribes has not been lost, however. Hypotheses about a common origin of the nationalities of the Pacific coast of Asia and the tribes of North America were advanced long ago. 197 My own investigation of the Gilyak language convinced me that this hypothesis may finally be fully confirmed. Besides the similarity in the common structure of the Gilyak language and of many American languages, such as the merging of pronouns with verbs and with nouns, the tendency /15/ toward polysynthesism, the extreme mobility of phonetic changes, the types of reduplication, etc., we can point to similarities at particular points which are extremely characteristic. For example, one that is common to all of them is a highly peculiar class system of numerals, according to which different categories of objects can be combined only with the numerals that are peculiar to them, a system to which, so far as I know, there is nothing similar in any of the languages of the Asiatic continent. All this, however, is a problem for the future, perhaps the very near future.

174 Meanwhile, an easier question is still unsolved, the question of how long the Gilyak have occupied their present positions. On the basis of three names borrowed by the Gilyak from the Tungus tribes for animals (the elk, the roe, the badger) found in the lower reaches of the Amur, but absent on Sakhalin, the late academician Schrenck, the only authority up to the present on the ethnology of the natives of Priamur krai, asserted that the original homeland of the Gilyak was Sakhalin Island and that in any case the Gilyak now living on the continent are descendants of immigrants from Sakhalin. [114] His opinion is based on an obvious misunderstanding. The three

/15 cont./

174 • 114 types of animals mentioned are actually encountered only very rarely in the territory of the Gilyak on the Amur and, on the other hand, very frequently in the territory of their Tungus neighbors, the Goldi, Olcha, Orochi, and Samagir, and therefore there is nothing surprising in the fact that the Tungus names spread among the Gilyak, but even if in Schrenck's time the animals mentioned were encountered there somewhat more frequently, this could be a matter of pure accident. It often happens that extraordinary reasons, such as the appearance of a new and strong enemy, compel this or that animal to save itself by flight from its normal territory to distant places, but such phenomena do not prove that the new territory in which these animals accidentally appeared was their primordial habitat. In general, how convincing Schrenck's conclusion is may be seen from the fact that the tiger is absolutely not encountered on Sakhalin and very rarely enters the territory of the Gilyak on the Amur, but nevertheless both the Sakhalin and the Amur Gilyak have their own name for it, "klund."

172 174 192 On the contrary, everything speaks for the fact that on Sakhalin it is the Gilyak who are the newcomers, having replaced or driven out their predecessors -- the Ainu. Let us start with the linguistic /16/ data. The Gilyak still call trees and some sea animals that are absent on the continent by Ainu terms, such as nistan' (maple), tarman' (yew tree), nuguchep (sea pig?), and others. Furthermore, we have even more objective proof that in any case it was not the Gilyak who were the most ancient aborigines of the island. Throughout the entire territory of Gilyak settlement on Sakhalin Island, right up to its northernmost extremities, one encounters the remnants of ancient dugouts, in the form of round and more or less large pits, and, upon excavating them, I found pot fragments and some implements of the Stone Age. The Gilyak call these pits nothing other than kugi-tul'kch (Ainu pits), a name which quite clearly indicates that the Gilyak regard the Ainu as 172 the original inhabitants. The Stone Age implements and the pot fragments found in these pits are regarded by the Gilyak as the handiwork of the gods (the pot fragments, for example, are regarded by them as the pots of a heavenly man who dropped them

/42 cont./

615 614 The first of the latter two clans in relation to the third bears the name akhmal'k (father-in-law), the second navkh or ymri (son-in-law /zyat', "son-in-law, brother-in-law"/). All three are pandf (cognates) to one another. Thus, every Gilyak is an organic member not only of his own, but of a tri-partite, blood, tri-clan union, forming, in the literal sense of the word, a phratry (1) (phratry -- brotherhood). In this triple "brotherhood" all the men and women of each generation are actually brothers and sisters (cognate male cousins and female cousins, see below).

Specifically, in relation to each member of a given clan each woman of the second clan is either his mother, his wife or the wife of his sons and agnatic nephews, and conversely, in the third clan, every woman is either his sister, daughter, or a sister of his father. Such are the blood ties of the members of a phratry!

One can get an idea of the form of the Gilyak three-clan phratry from the following schematic table:

Clan A (Andreev)	Clan V (Vasil'ev)	Clan S (Stepanov)
Andrei + Varvara (sister of Vasilii from clan V).	Vasilii + Sof'ia (sister of Stepan from clan S).	Stepan + Anna (sister of Andrei from clan A).
Their children:	Their children:	Their children:
1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Vasilii, from clan V.	1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Stepan, from clan S.	1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Andrei, from clan A.
2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Anna, from clan S.	2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Varvara, from clan A.	2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Sof'ia, from clan V.

[582] [114] 1. The Gilyak phratry has nothing in common with the one of Morgan, for within it mutual marriages are not only allowed, but were obligatory.

174 /45 cont./ But the details that I
582 have attempted to clarify here and the history of the develop-
601 ment of the institution which I sketched are capable, I think,
of shedding light on certain phenomena of primitive marriage which heretofore have been completely isolated and separate.

171 1) First of all, the clan organization of the Gilyak makes
174 completely clear to us why among many peoples, as, for ex-
582 ample, among the Batak on Sumatra, a wife or a mistress is
601 called "a son of the father's sister" -- ibibere-ri-datang; or
614 among the Gond (Gondy) of the province of Satpûras in central India where a marriage between male cousins and female cousins is almost compulsory when the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. These separate facts remained unexplained up to now and are, therefore, perhaps fragments of a once common clan organization similar to the one that I found among the Gilyak (1).

● [114] 1. It is remarkable that up to the present time some scientists are skeptical of even the actual fact of the discovery of marriage norms identical with those of the Gilyak. Thus, quite recently it was discovered that among the Hottentot marriage is permitted between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother and, conversely is forbidden between a woman and a son of her mother's brother (exactly as among the Gilyak), while Kohler, presenting this fact, and the author of the article on Kohler's work in Année Sociologique both doubt the possibility of such norms, even though they were
[113] known to McLennan. See J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentots," in Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft, Vol. XVI, No. 3, pp. 341-342, and L'Année Sociologique, 11th year, p. 306.

/69 cont./

796 beast in the notion of the bear as a dog of the "master."
825 We should remember that the genesis of the cult of animals
rests on the /70/ worship of the animal as such, without any allegorizing. "The reason of the universe," said the Avesta a long time ago, "is governed by a dog." But, as we have already seen, according to the subsequent evolution of the cult of the bear, in this last there may be concealed a "mountain man," a clansman of the "master of the mountains," or even a Gilyak's own kinsman turned into a "mountain man." Therefore one must show every courtesy to the one killed, feed its head, generously supply it for its journey with various kinds of provisions, not defile its body, not spill its blood upon the ground, and so forth -- all these are the inevitable consequence of viewing the bear as a higher creature. The importance of the holiday, however, is not exhausted with this display of respect for the higher creature. The soul of the slain bear journeys to its master, that master on whom the welfare of man depends. It is the most apt occasion for sending to this distant lord various presents, such as dogs, arrows, bows, viands, and so forth. All this is repayed a hundredfold. Moreover, the bear itself, pleased by all the honors and the food, may turn out to be useful in petitioning for various favors from the master of the mountains.

796 From this it can be seen that the killing of the bear during
782 the winter festival is not a sacrifice to the gods, as, for in-
825 stance, Lang, a famous investigator of primitive religion, be-
●[114] lieves it to be, but merely provides an occasion for the
sacrifices. The best proof is the fact that the Gilyak sacrifices to each god only that which the god himself does not have, and the master of the taiga has an abundance of bears. He needs dogs, fish, tobacco, sugar, thongs, and arrows -- and it is these objects that are given to him by the Gilyak; the bear is merely the honored envoy who carries them. It is a deity itself, albeit a small one, and therefore cannot itself
796 be a sacrifice. Finally, there is another important moment
825 in the holiday -- eating the body of the bear. As a general
261 rule, the greater part of the meat is given to the narkh'i, i.e.,
to the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the

/102 cont./
*614 only one of its kind, must have worn out the foe and weakened his
628 spirit more than the most active resistance. Utilizing their habeas
562 corpus, day and night they go about the environs in perfect safety
looking into every bush, every blade of grass, in search of the enemy in ambush. And if the attackers do not possess an overwhelming number that makes it possible to fall openly upon the expectant enemy, they will never succeed in eluding the vigilance of the inviolable chain of sentries, and the patience of the attackers, worn out by boredom, the march, the torment of waiting, of necessity breaks on the passive resistance of the weaker sex, and the basis for peace has been established.

In order to appreciate fully the importance of the passive
[784] participation of the women in the struggle of the clans, it must
[724] be kept in mind that in many clans it is forbidden to light a fire
on alien territory, /103/ use the water of its rivers and springs, hunt, etc., so that, like the Biblical dwellers of Gibeon, the Gilyak find it necessary to set off on an expedition loaded down with skins filled with water and as much food supplies as a man can carry. Under such conditions every extra day of waiting threatens death by famine, and thus the vigilance of the women necessarily conquers.

175 Here is one of the examples known to me. In 1851, 30 men
*614 of the settlement of Tebakh set off overland to take vengeance on
628 one of the clans of the settlement of Kol' for the slaying of a
562 clansman. After a long march, and a still longer and more fruitless
724 period of waiting as a result of the vigilance of the women, with
poles in their hands, ceaselessly searching the locality, the water in their skin-carriers finally gave out, and the avengers had to depart with nothing and terminate the matter peacefully ... Thus small causes often lead to important consequences.

*614 Tylor was right when he asserted that exogamy weakened the
[77] relations between clans and introduced peace, although he pro-
● [114] ceeded from the mistaken conjecture that the aspiration for peace
brought to life the very institution of exogamy. It is true that primitive man is not so sentimental, he is mainly too "god-fearing," that he would sacrifice with a light heart his own fears of punishment for a breach of his blood duty to the voice of feeling, or

/109 cont./

*614 But what is the mechanism of this amazing institution which gives an individual more than the contemporary state, which surrounds a person not only with universal anxieties, but also with an extensive net of regulations and "sins"? Where are its outward characteristics and the organs which fulfill its function? Is it not strange that in the formula of the clan these elements, extremely important from our point of view, are completely lacking?

VII.

The Mechanism of the Clan

• 114 Nordenskiöld, describing the Chukchee, in one place expresses himself thus: "Here, as at all the posts that I visited, complete anarchy reigned. Nevertheless, the members of this rulerless community lived in harmony and friendship among themselves."

Such opinions with regard to various primitive peoples are easy to find in the writings of many other travelers. In particular, Nordenskiöld would say about the Gilyak what he said about the Chukchee. That profound social organization that we have described in the preceding section, which forms the soul of every primitive society and which has come into history under the name of clan -- that organization often remains completely hidden from the view of a civilized observer who chances to be present, for to him, a European, everything that does not recall the familiar elements of the state organization -- territory, representatives of power, compulsory regulations of the system -- is nothing more than "anarchy in which, to his great astonishment, the members of the rulerless community nevertheless contrived to live in harmony and friendship."

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174 *614 615 Those manifest social habits and feelings which we observe in the contemporary Gilyak, which he indisputably acquired in the beneficial school of social relations, originally developed among the matrimonial clans and from them were gradually transferred first to every tribesman, later to neighbors of other tribes, and finally to man in general.

But the source of social ties between the matrimonial clans akhmal'k and ymgi, as we have seen, is rooted in that wonderful organization of the Gilyak clan, to the analysis of which we have devoted this chapter. In this evolution from the egoism of the closed clan through ties with pandf'y of other clans, close by blood, to sympathy and humanity for all men, both close and distant, is contained, perhaps, the most instructive conclusion of our long analysis. From that moment when the rule that a man should marry the daughter of his uncle on the mother's side was established, there was also laid the firm foundation for the extensive growth of social habits and feelings.

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The Social Organization of the Gilyak

(Family and Marital-Sexual Norms)

I.

Introduction

Upon superficial acquaintance the structure of the Gilyak family and its sexual norms appear to be so simple, conventional, and similar to ours that they can mislead even the serious observer. The well-known academician Leopold Schrenck, who lived among the Gilyak for more than two years and left us the well-known, multi-volumed monograph on this tribe, was profoundly convinced that he was dealing with the ordinary ooo patriarchal-monandrous family. This appeared so obvious to

114 /129 cont./ This appeared so obvious to
595 him that he explains the opposing view of Siebold, too categorically affirmed, it is true, based on the report of the eighteenth century Japanese traveler Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/, that "the northwestern shore of Sakhalin (i.e., the territory of the Gilyak) is the only country in the world where polyandry, by force of law or custom, is practiced" (1), not

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1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169.

by the inaccuracy of the observations of Mamio Rinso, whom he considers an excellent observer, but by his personal bitterness against the Gilyak because the Gilyak women compelled him to perform manual labor like all the other men (2). "Among

2. "Not wishing to accuse Mamio Rinso of pure fictionalizing," says Schrenck, "we cannot refrain from assuming that he was motivated by personal reasons, which, muddling his testimony, gave ground for various interpretations... Vanity and the fear of lowering himself in the eyes of the government (on account of his servile position) impelled the traveler to explain his humiliating position among the Gilyak by the custom of their country" (i.e., polyandry and the domination of women). Schrenck, Ob inorodtsakh Amurskago kraia /Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region/, 1903, Vol. III, p. 19.

[113]

the Gilyak," says Schrenck in conclusion, "neither on Sakhalin nor on the continent, nor anywhere else, does polyandry exist."

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● 114 In his own way Schrenck was right; it was perhaps impossible
595 for him personally to notice the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, for in effect it is impossible to find among the Gilyak open, public polyandry in the form /130/ in which those who have never seen it in life picture it to themselves. On the other hand, the statements of Mamio Rinso are also quite uncertain, since due to his ignorance of the language he could note only a factual looseness in relations, but he could never grasp the chief essence, the normativeness, the lawfulness of the sexual relations that he observed.

In order to discover the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, it is necessary to penetrate deeply into the most intimate aspects of Gilyak life, know their language, live a long time with them in their yurts (which helped Rinso see that which escaped Schrenck), and, in any case, become familiar with their kinship nomenclature, which Schrenck, due to his slight acquaintance with the language, completely failed to accomplish (1).

58 To the superficial observer, the institution of Gilyak mar-
[595] riage actually does not present anything peculiar. By all outward indications the wife or the wives of the Gilyak (polygamy -- two, three, or four wives -- is permitted by Gilyak custom) represent his individual property. The wife
[591] is purchased by the husband for a very high price from her

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1. Certain information given by Schrenck in this regard can only mislead the reader. Thus, for example, he completely erroneously affirms that a man gives to his mother and to the sister of his father the identical designation "ymk." See Schrenck, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 6. Probably the individual who gave Schrenck this information was speaking, not of the sister of the father, but of the sister of the mother.

/130 cont./
58 agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent
[591] residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emigrations, and before all the world is considered the personal
wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his
59 children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
[851] succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child,
husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former
[551] names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn
[553] ("the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so" --
teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives
[684] apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even
bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights.
[614] The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous
marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the
Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life,
and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the
inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with
regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and
wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/
relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between
spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other
sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

*601 In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a
121 type of individual family which is generally accepted as being
125 patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my
[59] own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the
realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me,
and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study
of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship
nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully
accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With
● [114] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first
census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern
Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory
system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

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[113] 1. At the time the account of this was

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presented by the author to the Moskovskoe obshchestvo liubitele estestvoznaniia /Moscow Society of Friends of Natural Science/ and appeared under the title "Sakhalinskie giliaki /The Sakhalin Gilyak/" in 1893 in the organ of this society, Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie (1893, Book 2). In the foreign press there was a review of this article by Friedrich Engels in Die Neue Zeit, 1892-93, XI Jahrgang, B.I.

Subsequent censuses in other districts of the Gilyak territory (1891-94) gave me a full and comprehensive picture of their kinship nomenclature and sexual relations, with all their variants, in the different clans and dialects. In particular, during these years I succeeded in becoming acquainted with the unique family structure among the Sakhalin Ainu, sharply differentiated by the typical peculiarities of their maternality /materniteta/. In 1895 and 1896 I investigated in the same respect the Tungus tribes of the Priamur krai /the Amur region/, where I discovered a fully developed classificatory system of kinship resembling that of the Gilyak, but differing significantly from the latter. Thus I gathered sufficient material for a comprehensive comparison of both the kinship terminology and the clan-family mode of life of all the representatives of the Priamur krai.

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In view of the extreme importance of the kinship terminology for an understanding of the whole structure of the family and clan of the Gilyak, and in view of the extensive disputes that have recently arisen in scientific circles over the classificatory system of kinship and its significance, I consider it necessary to survey it in all its details.

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602 Forms of kinship. According to the basic structure of Gilyak marriage law, relationship by marriage must coincide with kinship. The Gilyak distinguish two main categories of kinship, which may be called: agnate kinship and cognate kinship. The first embraces all persons bound together by a common origin from one forefather, that is, all individuals born or adopted into one or another clan. Upon marriage, women pass into the clan of their husbands. There are two kinds of cognate kinship: the first embraces that clan or those clans to which the women -- agnates of a given clan -- are given in marriage; the second embraces that clan or clans from which a given clan or its separate members have drawn their wives.

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602 The persons bound together in agnate kinship are united under the common name "k:khal-n'ig:yvyn" or simply k:khal -- the people of the clan, clansmen (from k:khal -- clan, n'ig:yvyn -- person). With respect to the first group of cognates, i.e., to the members of the clan or clans which take or have taken their wives from the k:khal-n'ig:yvyn, these latter and their whole clan are united under the common designation of akhmalk (fathers-in-law) and, conversely, ymg:i (sons-in-law /zyat'ya, "sons-in-law" or "brothers-in-law" in Russian/). On the other hand, in relation to the second group of cognates, i.e., that clan or those clans from which they themselves take women, they are ymg:i (sons-in-law) and, conversely, akhmalk. Both cognate groups in relation to the first, and all three among themselves, bear /137/ the characteristic designation pandf (from pandynd -- to be born), that is, consanguineous, bound by a common origin (1) through women. Thus, relationship

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1. Schrenck (III, p. 23) quite erroneously asserts that kinsmen on the father's side, i.e., agnates, members of one and the same clan, call each other ngafk, and that kinsmen on the mother's side call each other amal'. In reality, both terms, on

/137 cont./

614 615 602 *601 ●114 the contrary, designate exclusively relationship either through the mother or through the wife, but under no conditions on the father's side. Kinsmen through the father bear the name already mentioned by us: k:khal, k:khal-n'ig:yvyn.

614 602 Thus, relationship by marriage and cognate relationship are completely identical concepts among the Gilyak. We shall see how this has come

614 about upon examining the marriage norms. Now, let us pro-

*601 ceed to an examination of each category of kinship separately.

602 Agnate kinship, kinship within the clan. Within the clan the Gilyak distinguish only three lines: 1) the ascending generation "the generation of my fathers"), without distinguishing between direct and collateral lines, since the brothers of the father are called by the same term as own fathers; they only distinguish the generations of the ascending line; 1st generation, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, etc.;

2) the descending generation ("the generation of my children"), in which by children is understood not only the descendants of the speaker and of the whole class of his own brothers and collateral brothers of all degrees, but all the subsequent descending generations of these persons;

3) within each generation the lines of collateral kinship, embracing the class of brothers and sisters (own and collateral), the so-called class "tuvn."

In addition, in each generation of clansmen the class of husbands and wives is distinguished.

The class of brothers and sisters ("tuvn"). For a better understanding of what is to follow we shall begin with that class called tuvn (2). The peculiarity of this term consists first of

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[184] [197] 2. A term borrowed from the eastern dialect; in the western dialect it is ruf.

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835 614 114 And therefore we must come out in the most categorical manner against the assertion of Schrenck that the Gilyak clan is endogamous. "Affiliation to the clan," says Schrenck, "does not play any role whatever in the most important phenomenon of their life, namely, in marriage... the Gilyak freely permit marriages between Gilyak of one and the same *kal'a* (clan)" (1). Elsewhere he states even more definitely: "only own brothers and sisters and the children of two own brothers cannot marry" (2). This absolutely false assertion would be completely incomprehensible coming from an investigator who had spent about two years in contact with the Gilyak, if it were not for the fact that Schrenck did not command the Gilyak language and had to make himself understood through a guide. On the basis of many years of association with the Gilyak, in their own language, and of an especially thorough study of marriage law, I can categorically refute this absolutely groundless and antiscientific assertion of Schrenck's; both marriage and sexual relations between persons born in one clan are *absolutely forbidden*.

835 We turn now to the particular classes, within as well as outside of the clan, which are excluded from the right of sexual relations and marriage.

Class of the ascending and descending lines. Classes whose members call each other *atk*, *achik*, *ytk*, *ymk*, *nankh*, and, conversely, *og:la*, i.e., the classes of grandfathers and grandmothers, fathers and mothers, agnates and cognates, uncles and aunts -- on one hand, on the other -- their descendants. Thus, intercourse between ascending and descending lines is excluded not only in the direct, but also in the most distant collateral lines as well: sexual intercourse

1. Schrenck, II, pp. 23, 24.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

*835 832 584 585 [195] /170 cont./
an'g:ej with regard to an anticipated seance, they go through the same symbolic actions that people go through during the betrothal and wedding ceremonies, namely, they smoke or eat together. To say to a woman of the an'g:ej category, "Let us have a smoke together," is equivalent to an offer to her to exercise her marital right.

832 *835 684 The legal essence of this specific right, as we have said, is in the fact that its realization, even when it becomes known to all, does not provoke a reaction either of the persons concerned or of social censure, and likewise it does not constitute a violation of religious morals, a privilege of an extremely important character, for sexual intercourse with women outside of this category incurs grave consequences. If this be a completely alien woman -- although at the present time this does not constitute a religious transgression -- then it provokes, as we have already mentioned, bloody punishment if the fornicators are caught in flagrante delicto, or at best a cruel duel with sticks and a fine. There are many reasons for believing that intercourse with female strangers was even once under a religious prohibition. The following curious custom, by the way, testifies in favor of this notion. If a woman who is not bound to a man by class relationship tries to seduce him, catches him by the leg in some isolated place (a symbolic offering of herself to the man), then he (if, it goes without saying, he does not succumb to the temptation) is obliged, under penalty of punishment of the gods, to demand publicly an expiatory ransom from the woman (1).

● [114] [627] 1. I personally happened to be a witness to such a ceremony of ransom. It was in the settlement of Tamlevo. One of my traveling companions, a Gilyak already middle-aged, once woke me early in the morning and with anxiety asked me to go with him to "court" in the neighboring yurt. There I found a large assembly of the masters of the settlement. My companion laid before them his

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complaint against a local woman, who the evening before had seized him by the leg, on the grounds of which he was demanding "ransom." They summoned the culprit. She confessed and by the decision of the assembly she was obliged to hand over publicly to her accuser an adjudged ransom, namely, a puppy and a birch-bark dish. Why the fine was limited to such insignificant objects (if they were not merely symbols of especially female labor) I explain only by the fact that the guilty woman was entirely alone and did not possess anything more valuable.

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/171/ One must keep in mind the fact that the Gilyak are very passionate and by no means like to let felicitous opportunities for lovemaking, even with alien women, slip by, so it is necessary to regard the aforementioned custom as a survival from that epoch when intercourse with alien women was under a religious prohibition. Still more strictly regarded is an affair between persons of prohibited categories; this meets with the censure of society, the reproaches of kinsmen, punishment of the gods, the gnawing of conscience, and inevitable banishment. There can hardly be even any question of a casual passion, and a more serious feeling is regarded as the result of one's being inhabited by an evil spirit, and the persons prefer to kill themselves. Restraint toward persons of forbidden categories has become converted into that same instinct which is felt among us with regard to one's mother or
*835 own sister. All the more powerfully is the right to sexual intercourse between the categories of pu and an'g:ej realized. In this respect, one can express oneself about the Gilyak in the

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relationship of pu and an'g:ej toward each other (1).

1. This fact radically refutes the assertion of Westermarck, Crawley, and others that the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters arises from an instinctive sexual aversion created by living intimately together. Crawley cites in this respect the categorical assertion of Ellis (see "Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 52). [113]

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2) The above-mentioned principle created in the persons of the daughters of the brother a permanent pool of women for each man, but this measure was inadequate for the satisfaction of the objective for which it was created; corresponding norms of distribution were necessary in order to guarantee peace between the possessors of the group of women. It is first of all clear that the norms of distribution could not be exclusively individual or exclusively communal. Communal possession, as a general rule, would have evoked endless discord; a purely individual arrangement was not always possible because of the inevitable fortuitousness in the distribution of men and women, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms to be worked out, therefore, had to be of such a nature that they could give satisfaction in the face of any combination.

The individual mode of distribution, of course, would be the most satisfactory, but it requires an equal distribution of the sexes, which is not always possible, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms of distribution under such conditions had to be a compromise between the communal and the individual mode, in order to satisfy any combination of the distribution of the sexes.

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*614 For each individual member of the clan this is expressed in the fact that outside of the clan in which he himself was born and in which neither he nor his progeny may marry, he must have /210/ at least two other clans: one the clan of his mother's brother, from which he and his male offspring take wives, and the other -- the clan of his father's sister, into which his female offspring marry.

As we know from the kinship terminology, the next to last clan mentioned bears with respect to the first one the special designation of akhmalk k:khal (clan of the fathers-in-law), and the last one ymg:i (clan of the sons-in-law /zyat'ya/), and all together are called pandf (persons of common origin). Since all three of these clans are blood kin (a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, and women marry the sons of their father's sister), in marriage relations each separate clan is in this fashion an organic member of a tripartite, blood-kin, three-clan union of pandf, a real cognate phratry, for in each generation all the husbands and wives are cognate male and female cousins.
● [114] The Gilyak phratry, however, has nothing in common with the Morgan one, for within it marriages are not only allowed, but are obligatory.

The Gilyak three-clan phratry may be presented in the form of the following schematic table: (see following page)

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*614 615 602 clan, in view of the reciprocity of the clans standing in the tujma akhmalk relationship, no marriage relationships are possible between them. As we have seen above, the obstacle is not the closeness /214/ of kinship, but, on the contrary, the distant degree of kinship in comparison with the relationship to the other clans of the phratry.

VIII.

[illegible]sin Marriage

582 *174 121 We have seen that the basic form of marriage among the Gilyak is marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother. Thus, the type of the Gilyak marriage is a variety of the so-called cousin marriage.

How did this variety come about? This leads us necessarily to the general problem of kuzennogo braka (cousin marriage /given in Eng./) as an important stage in the evolution of marriage. I shall allow myself to dwell briefly on this problem.

582 *174 121 ●114 As long ago as 1900, in my report to the Russian Geographical Society and in subsequent articles -- "Teoriia rodovogo byta /Theory of Clan Life/" and "Endogamiia i ekzogamiia /Endogamy and Exogamy/" -- starting from an analysis of the Gilyak form of marriage, I showed that cousin marriage is the primary form of exogamy and that it gave rise to the classificatory system of marriage, group marriage, and the institution of the clan. At that time I showed that the exogamous institution of the clan was not only an institution of prohibitions, but an institution whose main function was to provide a given kinship union with a constant reservoir of wives from a group of persons bound by a community of blood, which plays such an important role in the various stages of the community.

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582 Works of recent times, in particular those of Rivers,
*174 Crawley, and Frazer, in connection with the work of their
121 predecessors in the field of Australian and Dravidian mar-
● 114 riage, such as Fison and Howitt, Spencer and Gillen, Kohler,
171 and others, revealed not only the picture of the broad distribution of this form of marriage at the present time (1),

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1. This picture entitled Crawley to say that "cousin marriage generally is the favorite form of marriage among primitive peoples" ("Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 57).

but on the basis of examples of Australian marriage they proved without a doubt that cousin marriage was the first experience of conscious restriction of marriages between brother and sister, and that all further evolution of marriage represented a series of gradual limitations on marriages be-
582 tween cousins of the first degree. One cardinal question in
*174 this problem still, one might say, remains open. This is
114 the question of why /215/ cousin marriage demands mar-
121 riage between the children of brother and sister, but at the same time prohibits marriage between the children of two brothers or between the children of two sisters. Only Rivers directly refuses to find an explanation for this striking fact. "Cousin marriage," he says, "is, according to all appearances, a survival. It is quite difficult to find a straightforward psychological basis explaining why marriage between the children of a brother and a sister is desired, while marriage between the children of two brothers or two sisters is so strictly prohibited" (1).

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1. "Marriage /of/ Cousins in India," The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1907, p. 623.

/215 cont./

582 Others have attempted to give an explanation for this
*174 fact, but these explanations are purely mechanical. Kohler,
114 for example, sees an explanation of this fact in the dual
121 organization of society (2) -- an explanation which is at least strange, for the dual organization itself is a consequence of the institution of cousin marriage. Crawley holds the same point of view as Kohler and therefore falls into the same error. He considers this form of cousin marriage to be "an automatic result of the fact that the name of the family is inherited. The children of brother and sister may marry because by their names they belong to opposite phratries" (3).

Frazer expresses himself in the same way. According to him, the reason that it is forbidden for these cousins of the first degree, i.e., children of two brothers or two sisters, to marry rests on the fact that they belong to one and the same exogamous class and are therefore restrained by the basic law which forbids a man to marry a woman from his own exogamous class.

The basic mistake of all these writers consists in their having taken the result for the cause, namely, that the so-called cross-cousin marriage, i.e., marriage between the children of brother and sister, was a result of the division of society into two exogamous classes, but they do not raise the question of just what it was that gave rise, in turn, to this dual division. In reality, the dual division into two exogamous classes was a result of the new institution of marriage between children of brother and sister, replacing the earlier endogamous blood marriage.

582 Before that, the group -- the descendants of one an-
*174 cestress -- was /216/ indivisible; marriages took place
121 within the group, usually between brother and sister. And

2. *Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe*, 121.

3. Crawley, *op. cit.*, 57.

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582 This type of one-sided cousin marriage, so simply ex-
*174 plained in the light of the evolution of more ancient forms
● 114 of cross-cousin marriage, has attracted no attention at all
from the investigators. Many scientists have even regarded
this institution with disbelief, considering it implausible.
Thus, almost at the same time as my publication on this
[171] institution among the Gilyak (in 1901), the noted scientist
Kohler in his article, "Das Recht der Hottentots /The Law
of the Hottentot/" (1), ascertaining, in the words of his correspondent, the existence of just such an institution among that tribe, regards this report with distrust. The cause of this distrust is quite simple. Not knowing the genesis of this institution and the place occupied by it in the evolution of cousin marriage, and having no other examples of this institution besides its remnants in the marriage prohibitions, it was difficult to comprehend the cause of the one-sided prohibition by which the son of a sister can marry the daughter of a brother, but the daughter of a sister may not marry the son of her brother, although the degree of closeness of blood kinship in both cases is identical; and therefore the one-sidedness of the prohibition was viewed rather as an anomaly than as a normal sign of a living institution.

582 Due to such disbelief on the part of investigators, this
*174 institution is completely disregarded in treatises on human
171 marriage and has remained completely misunderstood, while
[114] ethnographic literature gives quite a bit of information on
its broad distribution among the most diverse peoples. Especially numerous traces of it are found in Indonesia and among the Dravidian peoples of India, among whom Morgan found the most clearly expressed form of the Turanian system, in which group marriage was preserved. As we just saw,

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[113] 1. In Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, B. XVI, pp. 341-342.

/223 cont./

601 these latter by the term "father." But among the other half
*835 of the Gilyak only the younger brothers have rights to the wives of the older brothers. And once again this is indicated in the terminology. I call the wife of my younger brother, with whom I do not have the right of intercourse, by the prohibitive term jokh, /224/ but I call the wife of an elder brother by the same term as I call my own wife; corresponding to this, the children of brothers call only the younger brothers of the father, as well as this latter, by the term ytk (father), but the father's older brothers -- atk.

● 114 The objections which have been raised against Morgan's
601 hypothesis are in this sense objections of a purely abstract
*835 character. Thus, for example, the well-known objection repeated by all the opponents of Morgan with regard to the inexplicability of the class of mothers, since a person's mother, they say, is always well-known, is quite simply explained by the norms of sexual relations among the Gilyak. A Gilyak calls by the name of mother any woman with whom a person of the class of his fathers has the right to sexual relations. The degree to which the Gilyak realize the significance of this term is seen from the following. We have just seen that among that half of the Gilyak where only the younger brothers have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of the elder, the children of brothers distinguish the elder brothers of their father from the younger brothers, and these latter they call by the term "father," but they do not distinguish the wives of the brothers of their father, calling them mothers. Why? For this reason. I call the wives of my father's younger brothers mothers because their husbands are my fathers (they have the right to sexual intercourse with my mother), and the wives of the older ones because my father has the right of sexual intercourse with them, and they are his wives.

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601 A Gilyak also calls the sisters of his father-in-law
*835 mothers, but this is entirely correct, because, as we have
seen, father and son take wives from the same clan; the
father takes a man's sister, while the son takes a daughter
of this latter, so that the sister of one's father-in-law is
● [114] really his mother. The objection of Kunov that the classificatory
terms designate only age classes is likewise completely
unfounded. In Gilyak life, age plays no part in
the kinship terms. My class "father" can be younger than
I, and nevertheless he cannot marry a woman of the class
of my wives, but, on the other hand, is obliged to marry
a woman from the class of wives of my actual father, and
on attaining maturity he will in fact be a husband of my
mother.

*174 The Gilyak system and the punalua family. In the light of
*835 the Gilyak system, not only is Morgan's general hypothesis
[114] concerning the origin of the classificatory system of kinship
from the system of marriage confirmed and explained, but
also his more particular hypothesis concerning the origin
of the Turanian kinship system from the punalua family.
The Gilyak kinship system is /225/ Turanian in its basic
indications, while the marriage system presents a most
complete form of the punalua family. In actuality, according
to Morgan, the basis of the punalua family is "group
marriage, either of several own /or/ collateral sisters with
their spouses, where the common husbands were not necessarily
kinsmen, or a group marriage of several own or collateral
brothers with their wives, where these wives were likewise
not necessarily kinswomen, although in both cases this was
often encountered." The old Gilyak family with its obligatory
marriage from one particular clan was a group marriage of
all the brothers (own and collateral) with all the sisters of a
particular generation, so that the groups of husbands were
brothers, while their wives were always sisters. This is evident
[601] from the kinship terminology -- the wives of brothers
call each other sisters.

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*835 601 At the present time, when it is permitted to take wives from different clans, all the brothers (own and collateral) are still the group husbands of their wives, who often turn out to be sisters. And we have seen that even when sisters marry persons of different clans all the consequences of group-marriage are still preserved, and their children are considered brothers and sisters.

● [114] The structure of the Gilyak family thus affords us the opportunity to establish the very genesis of the Hawaiian family, from which Morgan constructed the punalua family. This family originally did not consist of a group of several brothers who were married to their wives in a group marriage, or, on the other hand, of several sisters in a group marriage with their husbands, who might be non-kin to each other. Such a family could not have created the Turanian classificatory system of kinship, for it presupposes the possibility of several groups of brothers or sisters, each group participating completely independently in a group marriage in which the other groups did not share; consequently, common designations for all the brothers according to their marital relations could not have been formed.

*835 614 *174 The Gilyak family in its pure, original form gives us an actual picture of this family. The family is an intraclan organization. Therefore, each group-family represents a generation of all the brothers of a given clan (own and collateral) joined in a group marriage with a whole generation of women from another clan. These women are necessarily sisters, for the daughters of clansmen-brothers, as we have seen, are necessarily the wives of the sons of the sisters of their fathers. Now when, as we have seen, by virtue of [178] /226/ the causes that we have mentioned, this marital obligation became weakened, and brothers began to take wives from different clans and women began to marry into different clans, sisters might turn out to be members of a group marriage with husbands who were not kin to each other, and brothers in the same kind of marriage with wives

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*835 who were not kin to each other, with this difference, that the
*174 collective of sisters, upon marrying into different clans,
614 178 would be broken up into several groups, as in the *punalua*
family, while the collective of brothers, always remaining
*835 in the clan, would be preserved in its entirety. And since
601 the Gilyak family is the most ideal form of the *punalua*
*174 family, it is natural that the Gilyak terminology be the
most complete form of the Turanian system. Actually, we
find in it classificatory groups that must have existed in the
Turanian as well, but which were lost with the loss of the
● [114] system of marriage. For example, in that Turanian form
which Morgan once considered the most complete, namely,
the Tamil, the two extremely important classificatory terms --
"husband" and "wife" -- are not found.

*835 The Tamil system, according to Morgan, developed
601 under conditions where brothers had common wives, and
*174 sisters had common husbands. Correspondingly, in the
171 Tamil system a man calls by the name father, not only his
own father, but also all the brothers of his father, and he
calls not only his own mother, but also all her sisters his
mothers; in like fashion, he calls all the children of the
brothers of his father and of the sisters of his mother, brothers
and sisters. Corresponding to this, there must have also
existed a general term "wife," by which a man would
designate not only his own wife, but also her sisters and the
wives of his brothers, and likewise a general term "husband,"
by which each woman would designate both her own husband
and his brothers, and the husbands of her sisters.

114 In reality, these general terms do not exist either in the
601 Tamil or in the Iroquois systems. Thus, among the Tamil,
171 a man calls his wife *en mainavi*, the wife of his brother
enanni, *en maittuni*, the sister of his wife *en korlunti*, *en
maittuini*; there is the same lack of correspondence with the
term "husband" (1).

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1. See the table in Morgan.

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● 114 Subsequently, in Ancient Society, Morgan found an ex-
601 planation for this fact.
171 "This shows," he says, "that among the Tamil, at the time when the Turanian system was introduced, all my female cousins were my wives, while at the same time this did not apply to the wives of my male cousins" (2).

[113] 2. Morgan, Ancient Society, 1877, p. 444 (Russ. trans., Pervobytnoe obshchestvo, p. 427).

114 It did not even occur to Morgan that the whole Turanian
601 system was based on this principle. This peculiarity, how-
*174 ever, is precisely the result of the primitive system of cross-
171 cousin marriage, from which the Turanian system also de-
*835 veloped. Under cross-cousin marriage, marriage between the children of brother and sister is the only form of marriage, and such male and female cousins accordingly call themselves "husband" and "wife." That the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage is evident also from other terms, which /228/ must have been inexplicable to Morgan and which he does not even bring up, not having found an explanation for them. For example, among the Tamil, if "I" am a man, then the wife of my sister's son is my "daughter" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the husband of my sister's daughter is my "son" (as in the Australian cousin marriage); the husband of my father's sister's daughter is my "brother" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the father of my wife is my "father-in-law" and "uncle" (father-in-law and brother of the mother among the Gilyak, father-in-law and brother of the father or mother among the Australians); the mother of my wife is my "mother-in-law" and "aunt" (aunt and father's sister among the Gilyak, mother-in-law and father's sister or mother's sister among the Australians); my brother's wife is my "female cousin" (i.e., a daughter of my mother's brother or of my father's sister); and, finally, the "wife" of a son of my father's sister, and

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● 114 the wife of a son of my mother's brother, is my "sister"
171 (typical cross-marriage). A corresponding series of terms
* 174 is met if "I" am a woman.

601 All this is without question evidence that the Turanian
* 835 system was a system of cross-cousin marriage, although the examples introduced by us above (the Batak and the tribes of central India) are evidence that even in the homeland of this system cross-cousin marriage has already begun to change to the unilateral cousin marriage of the Gilyak type.

121 It now remains to explain from this point of view a con-
* 174 tradictory (according to Morgan's opinion) fact in the
601 Ganowanian system, namely, that, in contradistinction to
* 835 the Tamil system, if "I" am a man, then all the children of
615 my male cousins, that is, the children of my father's sister's
[171] son and the children of my mother's brother's son, are my
[114] "sons and daughters." We find the analogue of this in the Gilyak system. Let us recall the four-clan phratry and the case where clan V was short of women, and male cousins of the first clans A and V were obliged to take wives from the corresponding generation of clan S; under the norms of group marriage the children of these cousins are each other's "brothers" and "sisters" and, consequently, are children for both male cousins. The first step in this direction was the formation of that four-clan phratry which we have seen among the Gilyak. This happened quite simply, and we shall see that these four clans in an embryonic state exist also in the Australian system.

121 Let us imagine a society divided, like the Australian
* 174 one, into two phratries, exchanging women in each genera-
* 835 tion, so that the children of a sister marry the children of
615 her brother, and thus the wife of each man is the sister of the husband of his sister.

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X.

Features of the Classificatory System Among Other Peoples of Northeast Asia

*174 661 As early as forty years ago L. Morgan in his Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity gave special attention to the question of the relationship between the Turanian and the Ganowanian kinship systems and after a long analysis, came to the definite conclusion that the relationship between these systems could occur only because of common blood, and that the present bearers of the Ganowanian system, i.e., the American peoples, brought it from their ancient homeland, from Asia. Morgan at that time was in a position to trace the Turanian system among the Dravidian peoples of India up to the southern boundaries of Central Asia. He was unable to get any information about the Mongol, the Tungus, or even the Turkic peoples. And it was all the more difficult for him to obtain any data about the peoples /236/ of the Amur region and the Pacific shore of northeast Asia. At the same time, it was the Amur River that he regarded as the point of departure for the crossing of the Turanian system from Asia to America, just as, with greater justification, he regarded the Columbia River as the point of departure for the spread of the Ganowanian system throughout the continent of North ● [114] America. Whatever we may think of Morgan's hypothesis, from this point of view, his conviction that definite traces of the Turanian system should be discovered from the banks of the Amur throughout the northeast of Asia, including the Aleutian Islands, is now beginning to be justified, in some cases in the kinship systems and in others in survivals of cousin marriage. It is particularly strengthened by the system of kinship and marriage discovered by me among the Gilyak. Morgan's great hypothesis, which has such a direct bearing on the problem of the interaction of the peoples of Asia and America, deserves our making at least a brief survey of the marriage norms among these peoples.

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584 576 him curtly: "That is not your business. We will take care of that. If she is bad, we will teach her!" This unconditional approval of the bride is all the host needs; after that he will know how to set the most advantageous conditions, to which the matchmakers are compelled to agree (1).

114 071 1. This is exactly the way the Gilyak explain the motives for the father's deprecatory opinions of his daughter. I think, therefore, that Iokhel'son was wrong in explaining this custom among the Koryak as a preventive against possible future complaints (The Koryak, 739).

/274/ But it may happen that the father will not give any sign that he is gratified by the attitude of the matchmakers toward the inadequacies of his daughter. When all the objections are exhausted, he suddenly fires the phrase which the Gilyak commonly utters when he wants to cut short a disagreeable conversation: "I know nothing," he says through the pipe clenched in his teeth. And after a short pause he angrily declares: "Ask my wife what she wants, it is not my business." Then they begin to regale the mother of the bride, who, after long excuses, in turn finishes with the laconic phrase: "Why do you ask me? Let the men decide!" 583 584 184 Finally, the negotiations move to the business basis of the bride price and dowry. In this connection the customs are different on Sakhalin and the Amur. On the Amur, where the people are more mercantile, the bride's side unashamedly enumerates down to the slightest detail the objects of the bride price.

On Sakhalin they are more modest; at first they name only two or three objects, the most valuable ones of the expected bride price, and after that they only haggle over secondary valuables. But in both places the procedure of the negotiations is carried on in an elevated atmosphere.

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II.

A Legend about Pilavo (1)

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1. Recorded in the settlement of Takhta in 1910. Pilavo is four settlements: two on Sakhalin, one Khez'-Pilavo, and Yky, the Goldi settlement near Khabarovsk. The inhabitants there still burn their dead, and there is a bear festival. The terrain is identical in all four villages.

539 On the north of Sakhalin a father had many children. During the sharing they quarreled over a stone with a hole, or:, which, on a silver chain, is put on the breast of a bride. One brother said: "You have divided everything, now give the stone to me." He put it on the neck of his daughter, and through the night it was not possible to take it off. The others said: "Daughters are not of our clan, they leave to marry, how can one leave them such an expensive article?" The eldest brother: "We consider only sons, daughters are not ours. You can make as many children as you wish, but you cannot find such stones." After this the eldest brother always wanted to kill the little girl, while the younger brother guarded. The younger brother became angry and ran away from the south of Pilavo to the north. There was a famine. During the most severe famine they killed a seal, they killed a small seal. They boiled it, they divided it up into pieces, they ate it, and the bones remained. The children began to chew, to fight. One of the brothers came up and began to beat the son of another brother on the "mug" with the same bone: "You, dog, take it, gorge!" and he was beating the youth. The youth began to cry. His father was not at home. The mother stepped in for her son, and the mother got it. In a little while the father arrived. The mother complained to her husband, and a fight took place.

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595 58 A person can take two sisters as wives. Brothers may take widows without distinction. It is best of all to take a wife from the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her for nothing, and even if a payment is required, it is less in any case. In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from the clan of one's mother. It is not permitted to exchange women between clans. Here, too, one's daughter is given for sale to the wife's brother, but the latter cannot demand this.

582 There is a prohibition against the descendants of one's sister down to the fourth generation.

614 173 In Vaydy (see above) there are Gilyak of the Hirulung clan who have entered into a union k:khal n'akh:r: with the Khydzyr' in Chil'bi. Formerly, they lived together in the same locality and belonged to the clan of the tiger. There is a Gilyak clan which has become related to a snake (there are snakes on the Amgun; they were seen on the Amgun by Putyun) (1). There are also Goldi who are kin to snakes.

538 837 A young man from Vaydy fell in love with the wife of a Korean, a Gilyak woman, and enjoyed reciprocity. She went to the town with a fish; the Korean stayed to guard the potatoes. Then the lover went to the town. They met and spent two weeks in the town. She came home [illegible]er mother also liked the Gilyak.

The Korean demanded that his wife sleep with him, but she resisted. At night the Gilyak woman ran outside and slept with the Gilyak. The husband gave her a beating; her mother and brothers tried to protect her; the Korean complained, why did he take a Gilyak woman. He killed the Korean (settlement of Mago).

● [114] 1. In the text, "boa," but, judging by note 6 on page 222 in Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, this is a mistake in the notes on the journey.

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VIII.

Folklore (1)

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1. The two tales printed below were found in Shternberg's archives without a Gilyak text. All the remaining folklore materials not included in Volume 1 of his Materialov po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials for the study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/ are planned for separate publication. S. Sh.

539 Tale No. 1. Once upon a time two brothers, no mother, no sister, no one, lived alone quietly by themselves. In the spring they went to hunt a bear, one in one direction, the other in the other one. The elder brother sat down to s--t (in great need); a fishing rod from the sky caught (him) and took him into the sky. The younger brother searched for but did not find his brother. He returned home alone. At night, when he was asleep, he dreamed (tyjnd) that a Gilyak came and said that his brother was taken into the sky.

"Be careful, you, too, will be taken into the sky." He woke up and began to look for the Gilyak, no one!

He took a long leather rope and a pole and make a large shed. In the morning he went to s--t, the fishing rods descended, grabbed him, and picked him up. The chain broke and fell. He looked; the chain was all gold. With the chain there were four small bells -- (k:ongkh): three large, one small. The Gilyak did not touch anything. There was a whole pile of chain.

The following night he was sleeping -- someone got the chain and the little bell, and the little bell rang. In the morning he did not find them; he looked in the storehouse -- bears' heads. He went fishing and caught a whole boatful of small, small fish. One small, beautiful fish /345/ was unfamiliar; he put it in the bow of his boat. Upon approaching a seal, he saw smoke from his yurt. He thought: "Where is that coming from, are we on fire?"

/346 cont./

222 The Gilyak cut down a whole bird-cherry plant for the cherries, but "if blood (red juice) comes, they quit.

/347/

114
113

The Sakhalin Gilyak (1)

1. The present article was published in Etnograficheskoe Obozrienie, 1893, No. 2. It was discussed at that time by F. Engels in an article in Die Neue Zeit. Ed.

I.

101

The Origin of the Gilyak and Features of Their External Life

Like the Ainu, in whose language the word "ainos" means "man," the Sakhalin Gilyak, too, call themselves "nivukh," which means: man, master, Gilyak (2). Their customary name,

2. The Amur Gilyak call themselves "yavese."

"Gilyak," was, in my opinion, formed from the distortion by travelers of the word "kile," which means "Tungus" in the language of the Amur Gilyak, with whom travelers first had contact. And such a distortion could very easily have occurred because the Gilyak of the lower reaches of the Amur speak the same language as the Tungus, who, according to their legends, form one "people" with the Gilyak, the Goldi, and the Orochon. It is also quite possible that because of the common language of the Amur Gilyak and the Tungus, the Manchu, who formerly ruled the Amur region, called the Gilyak and the Tungus by a common name, "kile." But the ease with which national antagonisms

/384 cont./
128 realistically, we consider it appropriate to cite some of the numerical
[121] data obtained by us on these questions during the detailed 1891 census. In doing so, it seems more convenient to deal separately with: (a) the western coast, between the Aleksandrovsk post and cape Marii (the northernmost extremity of the western coast); and (b) the eastern coast and the basin of the Tym' River between Cape De La Kroyer and Cape Levenshtern (the northern extremity of the eastern coast).

103 (a) The western coast. There are 25 Gilyak winter settlements
361 between the Aleksandrovsk post and Cape Marii. They are located in the following order: Arkyyvo, Yamy, Manginay, Tangi, Khoe (Khoi), Viakhtu, Tyki, Vaaz, Nyyde (1), Noksy, Tyrki, Tengi, Tal'votigrvo (2), Marnlvo, Nyanivo, Marvo, Vaskhonkhvo, Kitnidvo, /385/ Tamlyvo, Lirkryvo, Viskvo,
● [114] Pomr (1), Pil'vo, Tumi, and Nyur. The village of Koybygrvo, which is marked on the map north of Nyur, no longer exists. In
162 the settlements enumerated there are 78 yurts in which 245 family-households live (2). The total population is 1,041, of whom

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[167] 1. Formerly the area of this settlement was inhabited by the Tungus, whose grave monuments, consisting of boxes with crosses on top of them, are still preserved on the low sandy shore of the strait.

[491] 2. There is a road from here to the settlement of Lyangr on the mainland.

[491] 1. There is a road from here to the village of Kekhrvo on the Okhotsk coast (one or two days).

[592]
[128] 2. By the word "family" is understood here first, any married couple, adult

[The western Coast]

/386 cont./

133 resembles the shore between the Due (Aleksandrovsk) post and the
settlement of Tangi, but it is more picturesque and ends near the
last settlement, Nyur, with the magnificent Cape Marii, which
is called "Mif-Chongr" (the head of the snake) by the Gilyak
and resembles /387/ Cape Zhonkier, which is symmetrical with
it, but it is higher and more picturesque, especially in winter
when its numerous cone-shaped crests, covered with snow, look
135 like the gigantic tents of a huge camp. It seems that even the
mineral deposits are the same, only more characteristic. The
137 vegetation of the coast is both richer and fresher than near the
Aleksandrovsk post. Birches, rose-willows, aspens, to say nothing
of the tall coniferous trees, have managed to grow safely along
132 the very shore. The wind is never as destructive or as continuous
[133] here as along "our" coast. Pomr Bay is fully protected from the
[504] winds, and, according to the local inhabitants, it can easily be
135 entered by large ships. A kerosene lake lies 30 versts from the
491 settlement of Pomr. The road to it is through taiga and tundra.

(b) The eastern coast and the Tym' Basin. 1) The Gilyak
103 settlements that lie between Cape De-la-Kroyer and Cape Virsta
361 are: Mos'bvo, Us'kvo, Siyavo, Adytym' (1), Khomrvo, Plyuvo,
Perivo. 2) On the Okhotsk coast the settlement of Nyyvo, and
south of it the settlements: Mil'kvo, Nabil'vo, Chokhzlvo,
Lungvo, Khongi, Pil'ngi, Chamrvo, Ngambevo (there are no
inhabited areas farther south); to the north of Nyyvo are the
Gilyak settlements: Teyarvo, Tyrmyts, Larvo, Vangrvo, Chayvo,
Chon'kh, Ytvo, Ashvo, and Kekhrvo.

361 Thus, on this coast there are 25 (2) Gilyak settlements
with 109 yurts.

[824] 1. Wild hemp grows in the vicinity of
this settlement, from which the Gilyak
make their nets, coming even from
distant settlements.

● 114
36
103 2. In the manuscript, 24. Perhaps the
author did not include in the number of

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/387 cont./

114 settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo
361 on the banks of the Tym' River, seven
103 versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye.
361 In connection with this settlement of
221 Mos'bvo, the author makes the following comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyvo, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

000 with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197
16 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416 are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133 households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169
422 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and
231 501 the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs.
411 During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes,
433 43 otters, and 63 bears.

162 From this one can draw the following conclusions: here
592 there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

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[589] 1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3

SS 114 [113] /5 cont./ 1. (cont.)
chim. tirés du Bulletin, Vol. II,
pp. 346-355, 446-456, 492-497;
Vol. III, pp. 8-17; Mél. russes, Vol.
III, pp. 49-65, 297-306, 344-363.

southern tip, by the way, I had already touched in the summer of 1854, along the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the northern part of the Sea of Japan, to the Gorin and the Ussuri, and, finally, on the return trip, up the entire Amur and a part of the Argunj /Argun/ River. During the winter travels in particular, I lived with and among the natives entirely. Therefore, it was principally the peoples of the lower Amur region, especially the Gilyak, but also the Olcha (Mangun) and Goldi, with whom I had an opportunity to become more closely acquainted, whereas I came in contact with the others only more or less fleetingly. G 114 127 For certain information concerning the Gilyak I am also indebted to Middendorff /Middendorf/, who /6/ became acquainted with this people as early as 1844, and, to be sure, on the extreme northwestern border of their area of distribution. He did not publish in his travel account the notes written down by him at that time, but kindly passed them on to me for use in this place, and they are in fact of great value to me, since I myself did not visit this part of the Gilyak area. Therefore, in the following where I refer to Middendorff without citing his writings, my information comes from the handwritten notes mentioned. Gi SS 114 127 A great deal was also contributed for a more detailed knowledge of the peoples of the lower Amur by the circumstance that during the time I had my headquarters in the midst of the Gilyak area, my friend and present colleague, C. J. Maximowicz, had his in Olcha territory, and, to be sure, in the Mariinski Post established shortly before. His information concerning the Olcha and Goldi collected at that time and on a later trip in 1859 and 60 and passed along to me forms an essential part of the following information on these peoples. SS 114 This was a fortunate arrangement for ethnographic research because it is precisely the peoples of

/14 cont./

131 50° north latitude and therefore located almost precisely at half [361) the length of this island which stretches in the direction of the meridian. The Gilyak population on the east coast of the island extends somewhat less far south. According to the information 131 that I gathered from the Gilyak in the Tymy /Tym'/ Valley and 361 in the village of Nyi on the east coast, south of this village and of the mouth of the Tymy River there are four additional Gilyak villages (3), of which the southernmost and last, three days' journey from Nyi, is the village of Tschamr-wo, beyond which the coast is said to be uninhabited for a great distance. This [115] information was later confirmed by the mining engineer Lopatin, who in 1868 made a wearisome journey on foot along this deserted coast; coming from the south, he found the first Gilyak village (Tschamr-wo) (4), according to Kropotkin's translation of his

• [114] 3. Cf. the map accompanying Vol. I of this work. The map drawn up by Schebunin on the basis of the material from the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society shows a few additional place names among them. Therefore, the number of these Gilyak villages is perhaps greater than the one given to me, but perhaps the added names only refer to the summer dwellings of the Gilyak belonging to the winter villages named, or to overnight camping places and other such localities.

[103] 4. "Tscham-wo," as Lopatin calls the village, or "Tschamr-wo," as I heard it and believe to be correct, has a name in Gilyak meaning "eagle village."

/14 cont./

report (5), one and a half days' journey north of Cape Delisle de la Croyère, but, according to the statements that he made to Fr. Schmidt upon looking through his journals (6), "behind" the large cape of rock mentioned, which among the Gilyak bears the name Harpach (7). At any rate, on the east coast of Sakhalin 131

the southern border of the Gilyak territory thus lies close to Cape Delisle de la Croyère, that is, /15/ about 51° north latitude, or

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131 36 [103] ●[114] 4. (cont.) I cannot accept the version "Tschamgwo," as given on the Schebunin map of Sakhalin.

[113] 5. Izviestiia Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. V, 1869, Sec. II, pp. 308, 311.

[113] 6. Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1870, p. 387.

[103] 7. Following Lopatin, Schmidt gives the Gilyak name of Cape Delisle de la Croyère as "Harpa." There is no doubt about the ending sounding like, not "pa," but "pach," since the latter is often repeated in Gilyak place names and means "rock" or "stone." I suspect, however, that the first syllable, too, is not rendered quite correctly, and that the cape is not called "Harpa," but "Tschcharpach," that is, "wood-" or "forest-rock" -- a name which occurs also at the mouth of the Amur.

/15 cont./

131 one degree more to the north than on the west coast of the island (1). Finally, besides the two coasts the interior of Sakhalin

[114] 1. The above-named villages, and especially the last one, Tschamr-wo, are therefore to be moved somewhat more to the south than is shown on my first map.

is also populated by the Gilyak, and to be sure, it is the large Tymy River, rich in fish, along which, up to its source, a relatively dense Gilyak population lives. This, however, cuts off the area of the Gilyak, because to the south, along the perhaps even larger Ty River, as it is called among the Gilyak, or Poronai as it is called among the Ainu (2), there is a permanent

[103]
[113] 2. That is, "great river." It is the "Newa" of Krusenstern Reise um die Welt /Journey around the World/ St. Petersburg, 1811, Vol. II, p. 95). On Schebunin's above-mentioned map, as in Glehn's travel report from Sakhalin Island (Beitr. zur Kenntn. der Russ. Reichs, edited by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, pp. 205, 235 ff.) this river is also called Plyi -- a name which, according to Glehn, is likewise a Gilyak one.

population only on the lower course and at the mouth, and this population, aside from scattered, individual members, is no longer Gilyak.

If one surveys the total area of distribution of the Gilyak, one finds that for the most part it extends along the sea, the Sea of Okhotsk, the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the Amur-Liman, and then also along two great rivers, the Amur on the mainland and the Tymy on Sakhalin -- a circumstance

G 101 177 Gi 113 /15 cont./4. (cont.)

den Verlauf der physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Expedition der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Ges. in den Jahren 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in the Years 1859-1862/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

Gi 131 The Negda live permanently along lakes Orel and /16/ Tschlja /Chlya/, G [361] [103] as well as along the river branch connecting them, although there is also a Gilyak village, Tschlja, on the latter. This in- G [115] ●[114] formation, which I obtained from a trustworthy Gilyak (Judin in Tebach) devoted to me (1), was confirmed by later travelers,

G [103] 1. According to Judin's information, among the Gilyak Lake Orel is called Kend-tu ("tu" means "lake"), Lake Tschlja And-tu. Gi [103] [361] On the former lie the villages of Pfyrpi-wo and Kuldsh, on the latter Tschomokr and Tschlja, and, on the branch of the river which connects the two lakes, the village of Kesf (the "s" is weak) -- all Negda villages, with the exception of Tschlja.

Schenurin (2), Schmidt (3). Middendorff, by the way, calls

Gi [113] 2. Schenurin found Negda or Nigidal yurts on the east as well as on the west side of Lake Orel. See his journal, which has been published in the article, "O novom" puti iz" Nikolaevsk posta, chto na r. Amurie, v" Udskii Ostrog" /On a New Route from the Nikolaysv Post on the Amur River to Udskii

G /16 cont./
101 It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the
coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on
the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a
considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons
that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly
Gi separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and
A Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree,
101 what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On
A the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have
G
181 mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern
162 boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told
361 me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely
103 Gilyak, Kthëus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj
again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was
A inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/
G
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361

4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthëus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

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• [114]

place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with
G the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is,
361 "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for
A
G
[113]

1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

Goldi RX3
Orochi
Olcha

G
Gi /21 cont./
361 by the Olcha, Goldi, and probably now and then also the Gilyak,
101 which leads from Lake Kidsi /Kizi/ to Taba Bay and, regarded
[487] to some extent as international, perhaps has acted as a barrier to the reciprocal spread of peoples. Moreover, the Orochi population on the coast is so sparse that there probably was no reason for them to advance northward beyond de Castries Bay. The Liman-Gilyak, for their part, however, if they were to spread southward along the continental coast, would be moving farther and farther away from the island of Sakhalin, with the population of which they have a natural and permanent connection through a partial tribal union as well as through many trade interests. Thus, with respect to the Gilyak, there is no /22/ stepping over
ooo the mutual boundaries between the peoples (1). It is different

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● [114]
[113]

1. A completely erroneous and, as we shall see, frequently recurring confusion to be noted in this statement by Dm. Romanof ("Prisoedinenie Amura /Annexation of the Amur/." —Russkoe Slovo, 1859, Aug., Sec. I, pp. 131, 135), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Isl.," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 14), and others that de Castries Bay is inhabited by Gilyak -- the same people, as the latter believes, whom Rollin, too (in La Pérouse's travel account) has described from there.

Gi
101 It is different
361 with the Olcha. For them Lake Kidsi offers a natural route to the sea, on which south of Taba, de Castries Bay is the first deep and protected bay. Therefore, besides the Orochi, they, too, have their permanent habitation sites in it.

Gi /26 cont./
101 main artery. Sometimes we see their territory reduced to a minimum (2); sometimes, and even more frequently, they

G. Gi 101 ● 114 113

2. For instance, in Swerbejef /Sverbeev/, who does not have the Goldi end until Dshaï and has the Gilyak begin as soon as Kidsi. This would leave for the Olcha, then, little more than the village of Gauwne on the Amur. This error, that the natives of Kidsi and the surrounding area are Gilyak, is repeated almost throughout by the Russian authors, for example, by D. Romanof ("Ocherk" miestnosti mezhdu zal. de- Kastri u riek. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/."– Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. II [Research and Materials], pp. 134-138); by J. Mewes ("Tri goda v" Sib. i Amursk. stranie /Three Years in Siberia and the Amur Country/."– Otechestv. Zap., Vol. CXLVIII, p. 284), who called Kidsi the principal village of the Gilyak; by Dr. Plaxin ("Primorsk. obl. Vostochn. Sib." – Voenn. Sborn., 1869, No. 12, p. 194), who has the Gilyak begin at Ssofijsk /Sofisk/ (Dshaï) and extend, not only along the Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk, but also beyond the Amgunj /Amgun/ and a part of the Tatar Strait, etc. In the latter, by the way, the Amur peoples are so confused that Mangun and Manegir appear as synonymous designations. The American, Bush (Reindeer, dogs and snow-shoes, London, 1872, pp. 77, 86-89), regards the dwellers on Kidsi Lake as Gilyak. Even Boschnjak, who quite

RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha

Gi 101 000 disappear completely by being simply thrown in with the Gilyak (3). Aside from the few above-mentioned Olcha

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Gi Gi 101 113 114 /26 cont./2.(cont.) correctly remarked that a sharp dividing line between the Gilyak and the Mangun lies at the village of Uchtr, in that the former only live below it, but going upstream, the latter begin with the village named ("Eksped. v" Priamursk. kraie." – Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 1, Unofficial Part, p. 125), cannot refrain from speaking of the "Kidsi-Gilyak" in another place (M.Sb., 1859, No. 3, Unofficial Part, p. 209).

Gi 101 113 114 3. Pargatschevskij /Pargachevskii/ ("Poiezdka zimn. put. vverkh" po r. Amuru, ot" Nikolaevsk. posta do Ust'-Strielochn. karaula, sovershenn. v" 1856-57 gg. /A Trip by the Winter Route Upstream along the Amur, from the Nikolayevsk Post to the Ust'-Strelochny Guardpost in 1856-57/." – Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch, Part 21, 1857, Sec. II [Research and Materials], pp. 161, 165), for instance, does not know of the Olcha at all, but has the Gilyak extend from the mouth of the Amur to Adi, and from there down the Goldi begin. Likewise Dr. Sperk ("Geografo-patologicheskie ocherki Vost. Sib. /Geographical-Pathological Sketches from Eastern Siberia/." – Mediko-topograf. Sborn., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 68), who even grants to the Gilyak the whole

2: Schrenck--145 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Historical Manchuria AG2

H.M.
563 /71 cont./
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1. (cont.)
kraie /An Expedition in the Amur Region/" (Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 334 and others).

H.M. The right, relatively
563 thickly populated bank of the Amur and also the left one from its
648 last bend to the east is closed to them, for the Gilyak, although --
439 as we shall see -- zealous traders themselves, nevertheless per-
G mit no Chinese to enter their territory, perhaps out of the just
439 fear that the traders might pave the way for the rulers. On the
648 basis of their own experiences on their trading trips to the
Sungari, it is natural for them -- the Gilyak -- to regard the
Manchu and Chinese, in contrast to the other Amur peoples, as
identical with respect to political power and ruling position,
G though they distinguish between them with regard to nationality.
101 They also at times simply designate the Chinese with the name
714 "Manchu" -- a circumstance that gave rise to much confusion
concerning these peoples on the part of travelers (2).

H.M.
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114
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2. For example, Orlof (cf. Tikhmen'ev", Istor. obozr. obraz. Ross.-Amer. Komp., St. Petersburg, 1863, Part II, p. 84 and others), Tschichatschof (Tichmenjef, op. cit., pp. 89 ff.), Beresin (ibid., pp. 91 ff.), Boschnjak ("Eksp. v" Pri-amursk. kraie." - Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 1, Unofficial Part, pp. 115-118, 125, 126; No. 2, Unofficial Part, pp. 332 to 337; No. 3, Unofficial Part, p. 195, etc.), and others constantly refer to the Chinese traders from the lower Amur and from the Amgunj as "Manchu." The same is done by Pargatschefskij /Pargachevskii/ ("Poiezdka zimn. putem" vverkh" po r. Amuru." - Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXI, 1858, Sec. II, pp. 161, 165) with

S.S. /88 cont./
175 Amur on my return trip to Europe, on the whole stretch from the
131 last-named place to Ustj-Strelka I found only five small tem-
36 porary guardposts at the places where depots of food supplies had
712 been set up for the troops returning to Transbaikalia from the
[114] lower Amur. At the first of these guardposts (Sungarijskij Piket),
lying opposite the mouth of the Sungari, going upstream, /89/
these food supplies had not yet arrived at the time when I reached
it on July 15/27. The second was immediately above where the
Amur River enters the Bureja Mountains (Chinganskij Piket) and,
like all the others, on its left bank; the third and largest was
near the mouth of the Dseja (Ustjseiskij Piket), on the site of the
present town of Blagoveshchensk; the fourth was opposite the
S.S. mouth of the Komar (Kamarskij P.), and, finally, the fifth was
175 on the small Kotomanga River (Kotomandskij P.) (1) Thus,
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during the time of my stay in the Amur region only the first steps
S.S toward the occupation and colonization of a part of it had been
[648] made by the Russians. Not until after the end of the Crimean
War, when the Amur region was again accessible to the Russians
from the sea, and especially after the conclusion of the Treaty
of Aigun (1858), by means of which the present boundaries be-
tween Russia and China were established and the major part of
the Amur region came into Russian possession de jure, did there
begin that energetic, almost feverish colonization mentioned at
the beginning and which inevitably had the greatest influence
upon the ethnographic conditions in this region. But these events
are already outside the scope of our description.

G In concluding this survey I am taking the liberty of present-
S.S. ing a few remarks, in part historical and critical and in part
114 general and summarizing, concerning the appended map
128 figuratively illustrating the geographic distribution of the Amur
peoples discussed above.[1] It is the first ethnographic map

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1. Cf. Vol. I, pp. XIX-XXI, of the present work.

[1] [This map appears on pages 418-423 of this translated source; facing p. 310 in foreign text.--Author]

/89 cont./

G S.S. 114 128 referring specifically to the Amur region. On the map accompanying the first volume of this work I have noted the peoples living along the Amur and its tributaries, as well as on Sakhalin, without, however, defining their respective areas. Later, in G S.S. 101 114 1873, there appeared an ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia by Wenjukof /Veniukov/ on which the Russian part of the Amur region is included (2). Because of the relatively small scale of

SS. [113]

> 2. "Etnograficheskaia karta Aziiatskoi Rossii. Massht. v" angl. diuimie 250 verst" ili 1/10,500,000 /Ethnographic Map of Asiatic Russia. Scale: one English inch to 250 versts or 1/10,500,000/." It accompanies the work by the same author, Opyt" voennago obozrieniia Russkikh" granits" v" Asii /An Attempt at a Military Survey of the Russian Frontiers in Asia/, St. Petersburg, 1873, but it also may be obtained separately.

the whole map, however, only a few square inches could be devoted to the Amur region. Correspondingly, the information is for the most part only summary, in that the individual Tungusic tribes, which occupy almost the whole of the Amur region, are not distinguished at all or at most by a few inscriptions which for the most part are not in the proper place, and there is no mention of any delimitation of their respective areas. In connection with this, these condensed Tungusic tribes of the Amur S.S. [167] region are usually erroneously delimited from the other two peoples distinguished on the map, the Gilyak and Ainu. This map therefore actually gives only an approximate total picture of the Tungusic population, by far the predominant one in the Amur /90/ region, into which at that time Russian colonists had already poured along the Amur, the Ussuri, Lake Kengka, and down the 000 Ssuifun to Peter the Great Bay (1). Our map virtually ignores this

> 1. The following special remarks may serve as verification for my opinion of

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this map as far as the Amur region is concerned. In spite of the fact that the Gilyak are sharply distinguished from all their neighbors by their language, their territory is correctly shown on the map by Wenjukof only on Sakhalin, but on the continent is delimited incorrectly on all sides. In the north, for instance, it does not begin at Tugur Bay, but to the east of Ulban Bay; in the south, along the Amur River, he has it extend beyond Lake Kidsi toward Ssofijsk /Sofisk/ (where the Olcha village Dshaĭ is located), that is, toward the center of the Olcha territory. From there he draws the southern boundary of the Gilyak to de Castries Bay, where La Pérouse had already quite correctly shown Orochi. On the other hand, he moves them away from the Liman coast, from the mouth of the Amur, and from the adjacent parts of the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and puts a Tungusic tribe there, while in reality the Amur-Liman is inhabited all around only by Gilyak.-- On Sakhalin, the map gives too large a territory in the north to the Ainu, in that it is supposed to include the whole Ty or Poronai River area and to extend to the Tym' sources, whereas actually it stops at the Gulf of Patience, and an uninhabited territory frequently visited by Gilyak and Orok lies along the Ty. -- The Orok, which curiously are called "Orokapen" on the map (more about this later), are shown only in that part of Sakhalin in which there is no population at all and are missing at their actual sites. -- The designations for the individual Tungusic tribes of the Amur region

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are in the wrong places almost throughout: the Orochi, for instance, are shown only in the southernmost part of their extensive territory, almost all the Mangun (Olcha) are shifted into the Goldi territory, the Samagir are transferred to the Amgunj, in place of the Negda, who are not mentioned at all, like the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. The Daur, who, besides being along the Nonni and Komar, are also along the Bureja and the Amur, and who certainly cannot, like the last-named peoples, be simply subsumed under the general designation "Tungus," are missing entirely on the map, whereas the few Koreans who only recently moved into the Russian area across the Tumen River are shown.

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The various Tungusic peoples of the Amur region are given still less attention on the ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia which is given in the statistical atlas of the Russian Empire by Iljin (Opyt" statist. atlasa Rossiiskoi Imperii /An Attempt at a Statistical Atlas of the Russian Empire/, St. Petersburg, 1874, Map 14), with an even smaller scale, to be sure. In the Russian part of the Amur region (aside from the Chinese and Manchu), the only indigenous peoples it recognizes, in addition to the incorrectly demarcated Gilyak and Ainu, are the "Tungusen" (in general) and "Golde," whose territory, however, is shown along the Amur from above the Bureja to Mariinsk.

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Finally, the same errors as those on the Wenjukof map are repeated on the

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ethnographic map of the Russian Empire recently drawn up by Petermann (Geogr. Mittheil., 1877, Plate 1), which, for Asiatic Russia, is based entirely upon the information of the former. Despite the much smaller scale, it faithfully copies the boundaries of the Gilyak territory that were shown above as erroneous. The names of the individual Tungusic Amur-peoples, however, are entirely omitted on it, so that the Amur region, with the exception of a short stretch along the lower course of its principal river, like the adjacent part of Eastern Siberia, seems to be inhabited only by "Tungusen."

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Our map virtually ignores this last factor completely,[1] since it shows the ethnographic situation of the Amur region at a time when the Russians, after a pause of two hundred years, were just beginning to penetrate into the Amur region again, and were not to abandon it from then on. Since the colonization especially followed the principal rivers, the Amur and the Ussuri, it changed the ethnographic conditions chiefly where the indigenous population was most densely settled. It may therefore be that since then many communities of the latter have been displaced, shifted, or reduced, have even disappeared altogether, and their very names as well. And the future will even more take a rapid and relentless course in this direction. Now, since our map /91/ establishes the ethnographic conditions of the Amur region before they were affected by these changes, it can in the future provide a yardstick for the latter. And that can only heighten its scientific interest. How valuable, for example, an accurate ethnographic map of the Amur region at the time of the first Russian invasion would be for us now! How much could be drawn from it for the questions to be dealt with in the next section!

[1] [i.e., The mass immigration of the Russian colonists into the Amur River region--Analyst]

2: Schrenck--187 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Ainu AB6

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Concerning the other point touched on above, the very evident preponderance of the Tungusic population in the Amur region on the comprehensive ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia, this at first glance is less striking on our map, and, to be sure, for the reason that on it the Tungusic tribes are not thrown together indiscriminately, but are kept apart by different colors. One need only combine them, however, and contrast them with the tribally different Gilyak and Ainu, in order to have a clear picture of how great their spatial preponderance is over the latter, and, on the other hand, how these latter are limited to only the extreme edge of the continent and the adjacent islands. And so, from the spatial relations of the distribution of peoples in the Amur region, we must already face the idea that the Gilyak and the Ainu were pushed to the edge of the continent by Tungusic peoples -- an idea that will find further proof in the historical and ethnological observations of the following sections.

000 /92/

Section 2

Changes and shifts in the areas of distribution of the Amur peoples in historical times, according to Russian, Chinese, and Japanese reports, along with an examination and interpretation of the tribal names current in the Amur region or concerning it

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If it is not easy, and often hardly possible, to define with any accuracy the present areas of distribution of seminomadic hunting and fishing peoples in a vast area as yet little explored, how many more difficulties appear when it is a matter of questions such as what changes in the areas of distribution of these peoples have taken place in the course of time? When and from where did this or that one of them move into its present location? And what other people did it drive out of it? Also, I must note from the start that quite definite and adequate answers to these

2: Schrenck--193 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1

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peoples could and must have frequently resulted during this time, but they are most difficult to perceive from the historical reports available, for, on the one hand, the territorial boundaries of roaming hunting and seminomadic fishing peoples are never very /95/ definite and even at the present time are inadequately known among the Amur peoples, and, on the other hand, the historical reports concerned, since we are indebted for them to the notes and reports of simple, uneducated people pursuing practical interests, suffer as a rule from too much vagueness and sometimes obscurity for our purposes, and, what is worse, they not infrequently present the Amur peoples under names that are completely foreign to us today and therefore require an interpretation beforehand. Now, whether the interpretations and explanations that will be found in the following pages are always the correct ones must remain undecided to begin with --for my part I hope, since they are not without reason, that they will be verified in most cases at least and may provide a key for a better understanding of some of the historical reports concerning the Amur region and the ethnographic facts contained in them.

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Let us begin again with the peoples of the lower Amur region and from among them with the most extreme, the Gilyak. The first printed mention of the Gilyak is found on the map published by Nicolaus Witsen in 1687 in Amsterdam and dedicated to Peter the Great, "Nieuwe Land-Karte van het Noorder- en Ooster-Deel van Asia en Europa /New Map of the Northeastern Part of Asia and Europe/" (1), and in

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1. Müller (Sammlung Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, pp. 203 ff., and Vol. VI, pp. 29 ff.) gave a detailed description and evaluation of this map. In addition to the rare, original edition of this map, I have before me another copy of the Witsen map provided by Allard on a smaller scale and with some corrections, which was not mentioned either by Müller in his

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"Nachricht von Land- und See-Carten, die das Russ. Reich und die zunächst angränzenden Länder betreffen /Report on the Land and Sea Maps Which Refer to the Russian Empire and the Immediately Adjacent Countries/" (*Samml.*, etc., Vol. VI) or by Adelung in his article, "Ueber die älteren ausländischen Karten von Russland /Concerning the Older Foreign Maps of Russia/" (*Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs*, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. IV). It bears the title, "Tartaria, sive Magni Chami Imperium ex credendis Amplissimi Viri D-ni Nicolai Witsen, Cos: Amst: Aliorumque probandorum, et hodie vigentium Geographorum Archetypis congestum, auctum, et in lucem editum a Carolo Allard, Amst: Bat: Cum Privilegio Potentissimorum D. D. Ordinum Hollandiae et Westfrisiae," without date. The Dutch inscriptions of the original edition are rendered in Latin. The map has almost precisely the same borders, but with the addition of Korea in the east and, on the other hand, the exclusion of the course of the Volga in the west. I call it a copy of Witsen's map, because in fact it reproduces it in all parts, especially in the north and in the east, down to the smallest detail. Also, one finds on it, for example, the same curiosa as in Witsen, that is, misunderstood Russian words and expressions were taken for place names. At the confluence of the Schilka /Shilka/ and the Argunj /Argun/, for instance, there stands in large letters the regional name "Otsel Poschel," evidently because in a Russian statement (and, to be

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sure, on a map!) it said: otsel' poshel" Amur (that is, from here, from the confluence of the Schilka and Argunj, begins the Amur); in the lower course of the Lena and east of it are likewise found the regions "Otmore" (from ot" morya -- from the sea), "Nasabate" (na zapadie -- in the west), and "Wostok" (vostok" -- east). The mountain range that separates the tributaries of the Lena from those of the upper Amur (Stanovoi) bears in Witsen the inscription "het /the/ gebergte /mountain range/ gori," or in Allard "montes /mountains/ Gori" (Russian: gory -- mountains), etc. With regard to the Amur region in particular, there is also repeated on the Allard map the peculiarity of the Witsen one in having so many rivers designated on it twice because of the direct posting from the various reports; thus, the Ussuri as Schur or Usiur and as Uschuri, the Dseja /Zeya/ as Sia and as Zija, the Urkan as Urka and as Urki, etc. The Allard map, however, gives the course of the Sungari River differently than the Witsen one: on the latter this river goes under the name of Singal to the Amur and at the same time in a further bifurcation as Schingal or Quentung to the sea; the Allard map, however, pulls it apart and has the Singal flow into the Amur, the Quentung -- which, as is well known, is the Chinese name for the Sungari -- into the sea. Incidentally, there should also be noted here a small map that is appended to the third edition of Witsen's work Noord en Oost Tartarye /Northern and Eastern Tartary/ of 1785 (Vol. I) and on which the Amur is entered twice: once under the name Amur, with its tributaries Schur (Ussuri),

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Schingal (Sungari), and others, and with the region Giletskaja at its mouth, and another time farther east under the name of Helung (the well-known designation for the Amur), with the tributaries Songora, Quentung, and others, flowing through the region of Niuchi or Nikanskaja (of the Manchu and Chinese) and inhabited by the Jupi people at its mouth. I found two copies of the above-mentioned Allard map in our academic library.

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/96/ his well-known work which appeared soon afterward in 1692, Noord en Oost Tartarye. In this bulky work abounding with data thrown confusedly together, the Gilyak are named in many places and, to be sure, under various modifications of one and the same name, for example, as "Chilakken, Chilanen, Gilaki, Giliaki, Gilaci, Gilaitski, and Gilanki," or "Giliakische and Gilaitse Volken" /Volken, "peoples"/, and their region as "Gilaitskie, Giletskaia, Gilenskije, and Gilanska gewest or landtschap" /gewest, landtschap, "district, region"/ (1). In this connection several, often

1. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 9, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 104, 520, 528, 543; edition of 1705, pp. 11, 67, 68, 77, 86, 87, 88, 96, 106, 112, 267, 838, 847, 884.

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distorted, to be sure, but nevertheless characteristic features of their way of life are mentioned, and we shall come back to them on occasion later. The statements in Witsen about the habitation sites of the Gilyak differ even more than the name, for at one time he states only in very general fashion that they have their sites on the right bank of the Amur and southward (2), and

2. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 29; edition of 1705, p. 67.

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175 elsewhere that they live at the mouth of the Amur River and
114 along the seacoast to the north and south of it (3), as well as
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on a very large island lying opposite the mouth of the Amur, called Giliat (4), which evidently is Sakhalin; sometimes they are said to extend along the seacoast southward almost to China (5) and northward to the Anadyr River (6), and, finally, sometimes their habitation sites are given on the northern bank of the Amur River near Nerchinsk (7), and therefore quite far
175 from the sea. Accordingly, the Gilyak are shown on the map at
131 three places: first, on the seacoast directly north of the Amur
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3. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 33, 36; edition of 1705, pp. 88, 106.

4. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 34; edition of 1705, p. 96.

5. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 104; edition of 1705, p. 267.

[103] 6. The rivers around whose mouths they live are expressly named, and, to be sure, in two versions (edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 32; edition of 1705, pp. 86 and 105), among which the later, more correct ones run: Lama, Ochota, Towoi (evidently Ta-ui), Tadui, Penchion (Penshina), Kamtschatka, Tschiundon, and Anadir.

7. Edition of 1705, p. 77.

/96 cont./

175 131 361 mouth ("Zemle Giletskaja," land of the Gilyak) (8), then high up in the north, along the Anadyr, and, finally, far to the west, along the sources of a northern tributary of the Amur, which on the map bears the name of Urka and presumably is the Urkan.

175 ● 114 [101] [103] Like almost all the Siberian names for places and peoples on Witsen's map or in his work, the above designations for the Gilyak and their region also reveal by their endings their undoubtedly Russian origin. Witsen himself repeatedly states, both in the individual cases concerned and in the introduction to his work, that he has often drawn on Russian sources (9). He used

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8. On Allard's map the "Holaki" are also shown here.

175 114 113 9. According to Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 202), in collecting the reports on Siberia he also found especially helpful Andr. Winiu's "Dumnoi djak," which, however, he does not mention. Recently Spasskij ("Svied. Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII stolietii /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, pp. 17 ff.) published a "Story from the Amur River," which he found in a collection of seventeenth-century manuscripts and which evidently was written before the Nerchinsk treaty (1689) was concluded. It bears the inscription, "Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie, kotoraia razgranila Russkoe selenie s" Kitaitsy" (Story from the great Amur River, which forms the boundary between the Russian settlements and the Chinese). One recognizes it as one of the

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175 •114 113 9. (cont.)
Russian sources used by Witsen. The information that it gives is found in Witsen in literal translation, for example, the statements concerning the location of the Gilyak region (Gilianskaia zemlia) on the mouth of the Amur and on the coast to the south and north of it, concerning the rivers that flow to the sea in the Gilyak region: Lama, Ochota, Tawui, Todui, Penshin, Kamtschatka, Tchuldan, Anadyr, etc.

175 114 /97/ as aids for the map, as he himself states, both several Siberian wooden panels and especially a map of Siberia which was made by the commander of Tobolsk, Peter Godunof, and his assistants in 1667 upon the orders of Tsar Alexei Michailowitsch /Alexis I Mikhailovich/ and was put on a woodcut in Moscow with a statement of the distances between the places recorded on it (1). Thanks to Middendorff's elucidation of the oldest maps of Siberia (2), we know that this was the first "Siberian Sketch" (Ssibirskij tschertesh), which, to be sure, has since been lost, but a revised and completed edition has been preserved in Remesof's

1. Witsen, op. cit., Preface; also the ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 536, 537; ed. of 1705, p. 859. Cf. also Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 204.

2. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 34-38, 176-177.

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175 •114 [113] /Remezov/ atlas. This atlas (3), consisting of 24 handwritten sheets, was also thought to be lost until it was discovered in 1842 by Wostokof in the Rumjanzof Museum. Although Remesof did not complete the entire work until 1701, the first map (the last one in the atlas) was drawn as early as 1673; it is ethnographic in content -- the first ethnographic map of Siberia, which shows the habitation sites of the many Siberian peoples in bright, strongly contrasting spots of color (4). Middendorff, who was the first to put the significance of the Remesof work in the proper light, appended another sheet, perhaps the most important one, which contains the survey map of Siberia as a whole, to the Russian edition of his travel account, with the [131] scale reduced fourfold (5). On this map one finds the inscription "Gilyak Region" (Tsarstvo Gilyansko) at the mouth of the Amur and on the seacoast north of it, just like the "Zemle Giletskaja" on the Witsen one. If one compares this map with the Witsen one, there seems to be no doubt but that, as far as Siberia is concerned, the latter was drawn, not merely with the help of, but directly based on the above-mentioned first "Siberian sketch" (6). This first "sketch," however, and the later revised

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3. Under the title, "Chertezhnaia kniga... vsei Sibiri /A Sketchbook... of All Siberia/"; see Middendorff, loc. cit

4. According to Middendorff, loc. cit. I have not seen the Remesof atlas.

[113] 5. Putesh. na siev. i vost. Sibiri /A Journey into Northern and Eastern Siberia/, Pt. I, p. 37. The map bore the title, "Chertezh" vsiekh" sibirskikh" gradov" i zemel' /A Sketch of All Siberian Towns and Lands/."

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6. Also arguing in favor of this are the curiosa on the Witsen map cited above pp. 193-196, note 1), which arose through the transfer of the Russian inscriptions.

and completed edition of Remesof's maps were made up for the Amur region from the information that the Russian military expeditions brought home, which, however, in its full extent, as it was set down in the ~~reports of~~ the leaders and participants in those expeditions, at that time still rested untouched in the Siberian archives.

According to Müller's explanation (7), the map that /98/

7. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. VI, p. 32.

accompanies the oldest description of the voyage of Ysbrants Ides, published in the Dutch language (1), also comes from Witsen:

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1. Driejaarige Reize naar China, te lande gedaan, door den Moskovischen Afgezant, E. Ysbrants Ides /Three Years' Travels to China by Land, Performed by the Muscovite Envoy, E. Ysbrants Ides/, etc., Amsterdam, 1704. The map bears the title, "Nova Tabula Imperii Russici, ex omnium accuratissimis, quae hactenus extiterunt, Imprimis viri Ampliss: Nic: Witzen delineationibus conflata, quam ipsa locorum lustratione edoctus, multum emendavit Everardus Ysbrants Ides," with a dedication to Peter the Great.

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175 114 it was drawn by him on the basis of his own map and changed
only with respect to the information -- and not always for the
better -- that Ysbrants Ides obtained on his travels and gave to
175 him. On this map the Gilyak are shown only once, and, to be
114 sure, as on Remesof's map, only on the seacoast between the
131 Amur and the Tugur. On the other hand, we see on the much
[101] later map by Strahlenberg (2) that the whole region along the
northern tributaries of the Amur River, from the Dseja /Zeya/ to
the sea, is designated as "terra Giliakorum, whereas in his well-known work on the northern and eastern part of Europe and Asia,
it is said that the "Kilani," who are called "Kilett" by the
Yakut and "Kilaki" by the Russians, live around the mouth of the
175 114 Amur River (3). So incredible did the information that he gave
on them sound -- though, as we shall see later, it was not entirely lacking in truth -- and in any case so fantastic was his
derivation of them from the Avar, who are said to have been
moved in the thirteenth century from the Caspian and Black Seas
to China by the Shah of Persia, Mangu -- he saw confirmation

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2. "Nova Descriptio Geographica Tartariae Magnae tam orientalis quam occidentalis in particularibus et generalibus Territoriis una cum Delineatione totius Imperii Russici imprimis Siberiae accurate ostensa." With a dedication to Friedrich I, King of Sweden; without date.

101 [113] 3. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386. Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. VI, p. 69) says that the map appeared together with this work in the year 1731.

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175 114 101 for his view in the still extant, like-sounding name Kilan (Gilan) for a Persian province on the Caspian Sea -- that Gmelin cast Strahlenberg's whole account into doubt. At most, he thought, the "Kilani" could be a family of the Tungus, since there were so many in Siberia who gave themselves special names, but not a separate, different people who, as Strahlenberg maintained, distinguished themselves by their skill in so important an art as the forging of weapons -- how could there be such a people, he says, without the whole of Siberia knowing about it (4). Nevertheless it was Gmelin's travel companion who, without entering the Amur region, made the greatest contribution to our historical knowledge of its peoples, and among them the Gilyak.

Müller was the first to stress the importance of the rich mine of information concerning the Amur region which had accumulated in the Siberian archives and only fragments of which had been seen by Witsen. Later many more gleanings were obtained in this field. Through this there was brought to light the oldest information that we have up to now concerning the Amur peoples being discussed here. According to it, the Russians /99/ obtained their first information about the Gilyak even before they entered the Amur region. In the years 1639 and 1640, when the leader of the Yenisei Cossacks, Maxim Perfiljef, advanced up the Witim /Vitim/ and its left tributary, the Zypir (Zipa /Tsipa/), almost to Lake Baunt, the Tungus there told him of the Daur people, who were supposed to live along the upper Witim and along the Schilka and to trade with the Chinese, as well as a people living where the latter river empties into the sea, that is, at the mouth of the Amur, the "Kilorzy," who were distinguished from all the other peoples by their language and likewise had trading relations with the

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[113] 4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743, Göttingen, 1751-1752, Vol. II, Preface.

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•114 Chinese who came by sea (1). We therefore obtain here information about two of the most remote peoples on the Amur River at the time, for there seems to be no doubt but that the Gilyak are to be understood under "Kilorzy," as was also noted by Fischer in giving this information. It is just one of the many versions of this name, as we have already seen above: they all correspond in the primary sound, Kil or Gil, and differ only in the endings. This oldest version, however, leads directly to an explanation of how and where the name "Gilyak" arose for these people.

101 Among themselves the Gilyak do not designate themselves with this name at all, as many assert; they do it only when dealing with the Russians, because they know that they are so named by them. Among themselves they call themselves merely "Nib(a)ch" (2), that is, "human being," in that

101 [113] 1. J. E. Fischer, *Sibir. Gesch.*, Part I, St. Petersburg, 1768, p. 527-530. Here, as at one other place in his work (p. 477), Fischer calls the author of this information Perfirjef and designates him as a Yenisei (Cossack) hetman. In Pojarkof's /Poyarkov/ original report on his expedition along the Amur (*Dopoln. k" akt. istor.* /Supplements to the Historical Documents/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1848, pp. 51, 52), however, he is sometimes called Perfiljef and sometimes Perfirjef and is mentioned as a military man from the Yenisei Ostrog (*Eniseiskago ostroga sluzhilyi cheloviek*").

[104] 2. The parentheses around the vowel are meant to indicate that it is barely heard in the pronunciation.

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101 cases, on the other hand, where nearer and more familiar regions
were involved, they gave different names to branches or tribes of
one and the same people differing only slightly dialectally. It
101 is therefore not surprising that one finds contradictory statements
● 114 in the interpretations made up to now about these Manchu-
Chinese names, for which the above point of view was not followed and which, in addition, came from men who lacked any personal acquaintance with the lower-Amur peoples. Klaproth, for example, thought at the beginning that Fiaka and Chedshen were the Manchu terms for the Gilyak (4); later (5), however,

(113) 4. Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 290, 301. In this connection he regards the Gilyak as the Kuriles of the continent, concerning which more later.

5. Atlas accompanying Timkovski's Journey, loc. cit.

he thought that he recognized in the Kileng, as they supposedly called themselves, the Gilyak of the Russians. Palladij, however, even recently regarded the Fiaka as Gilyak, and the Kiler, on the other hand, as Amgunj-Tungus, that is, Negda. If one considers the alleged habitation sites of these peoples, as well as the few reports concerning their respective character traits, way of life, clothing, etc., one must, to be sure, grant more right to the latter interpretation, but cannot entirely agree with
it either. The description of the Fiaka in the atlas accompany-
[291] ing Timkovski's Journey, as a crude, but brave people who in
winter are clothed in pelts of dog fur, incontestably fits the Gilyak better than that of the Kileng, whose clothing of stag hide (or /101/ perhaps also roe or reindeer skins) in itself indicates a Tungusic people devoted to a higher level of hunting (1).

1. The drawings of the Kileng and Fiaka (Atlas, Plate VII), as crude and dissimilar

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101 114 1. (cont.) as they are generally as well as in details, rather favor such an interpretation.

[131] [361] The alleged habitation sites of the peoples in question likewise appear to argue in favor of this interpretation, as the Kileng are said to live chiefly along the Amgunj (2), the Fiaka along the

[113] 2. Khenkhoûn in Klaproth (loc. cit.), Henkon on the maps by d'Anville (Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie Chinoise et du Thibet, La Haye, 1737, Nos. 1, 18).

seacoast near the mouth of the Amur. There seems to be almost no further doubt but that the Fiaka are the Gilyak when Iakinf (3),

[113] 3. Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imper. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, St. Petersburg 1842, Part II, p. 30, footnote.

on the basis of Manchu-Chinese sources and without any comment of his own, states that there are three peoples on Sakhalin, Fjakã (Fyake), Eluntschun, and Kuã, obviously Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu. Finally, among the statements by the old Jesuit missionaries, too, there are some that cannot be interpreted in any way other than in the above sense; Gerbillon's statement (4),

[113] 4. J. B. du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 37.

for instance, that the lowermost part of the Amur River down to the sea was inhabited by the Fiatta or Fiattu (5) people, who

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5. Klaproth (Atlas, loc. cit.) expressly states that "Fiatta" is an error and should be "Fiaka."

speak an entirely different language, live solely on fish, and whom, on the basis of the descriptions that he obtained, he would compare with the Iroquois. Müller (6) replied to this that the

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6. "Von dem Amur-Flusse /From the Amur River/," in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Historie und Geogr., Part 2, 2nd ed., Hamburg, 1769, p. 506.

Gilyak were designated with the name Fitta by the Manchu. On the other hand, the Jesuit missionaries (7) who upon the orders of

7. Regis, Jartoux and Fridelli, 1709.

Emperor Kang-hi traveled through Manchuria proper and part of the lower Amur region in order to draw a map of them reported on the Fiatta in a quite different sense. According to them it is nothing but the Manchu designation for the language of the Ketscheng or Ketsching, a people who lives along the Amur River from Tondon to its mouth and along the coast to the east of the Ussuri and the Amur, as well as, presumably, that people who occupies the seacoast north of the Amur mouth up to 55 degrees of latitude, the extreme northeastern boundary of the Chinese Empire (8). Thus we see here that the designation Fiatta, or,

8. Du Halde, Descript., etc., Vol. IV, pp. 7, 12. Ritter (Asien, Vol. III, pp. 446, 447) has combined the contradicting statements of the Jesuit missionaries and Klaproth's into one, which leads to the greatest confusion.

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101 as Klaproth insists, Fiaka, is used, due to insufficient knowledge,
114 as a collective term for a number of different peoples of the Amur region or their language, and among them the Gilyak. And the same must be concluded from the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who, as was stated above, spent 17 years -- from his birth on -- in Ninguta, to which his father had been exiled, and later, in 1722, having returned to China, he wrote a description of his birthplace. Downstream from the Cheidsin or Chădshen on the Amur River, he has the region of the Fei-ja-cha come next, the description of which, however, only in part fits the Gilyak, and to a greater extent -- for example, the nose rings, /102/ the birchbark boats, fishing in the sea, etc. -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Orochi (1). Finally, Iakinf expresses himself quite definitely in this sense in declaring that all the different tribes that live downstream from the Chădshe on both banks of the Amur River and also occupy the northern part of Sakhalin were included under the common name Fjakă (Fyake) (2).

All this permits one to draw the conclusion that the Fiaka of the Manchu-Chinese geographers or reporters are not always the Gilyak by any means; although better informed individuals actually might have referred to the Gilyak by this designation,

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[113] [197] 1. In Wassiljef's /Vasil'ev/ translation: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XII, 1857, pp. 90-93). It is also said there that the Fiaka, Cheidsin, and Churcha or Chulcha address one another with the word "andá." This, however, is a Tungusic word that also occurs among the Goldi, Olcha, etc. and means "friend"; in Gilyak it is "amalá."

[113] 2. Iakinf", Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imperii, Part II, p. 12.

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/102 cont./

there were others who mixed them up with the neighboring Tungusic tribes, in that wherever their ethnographic knowledge of the lower Amur region stopped, which occurred sometimes sooner, sometimes later, they had the area of the Fiaka, this people of their ultima Thule, begin.

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The situation was similar for the Ketscheng and Kileng. I shall later try to show that under the former for the most part the Goldi, at least a part of them and the Olcha were included. It is likewise to be seen from the above statements, however, that this term was occasionally extended, for reasons similar to those in the case of the Fiaka, to other peoples living farther down the Amur and along the seacoast, down to the Gilyak. Finally, concerning the Kileng or Kiler, a proof of the collective notion that was given to this term, and still is, on the part of the Chinese lies in the association of it with the Ketscheng or Chädshe, as is found in the imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing. The Kiler-chadshi mentioned there include the peoples of the lower Amur region who extend from the Chadshi (Goldi) inclusive down to the Fiaka of the seacoast. The use of the designation Kileng, Kile, or Kil on the part of the Chinese, however, can be shown specifically for almost every one of these peoples. Thus, the Kileng of the Amgunj have already been mentioned above, and, on the basis of their place of residence and description, the Negda are meant by this. When in the report concerned it is said that they also call themselves "Kileng" (3), this is correct only insofar as they designate themselves, when dealing with the Chinese, in the way they are named by them, just as the Gilyak do with regard to their designation when confronted by the Russians. The name which they have more or less accepted when dealing with those foreigners who to them are the most important and the most authoritative, they will, of course, readily use in dealing with all the others. When I

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3. Klaproth, in the atlas accompanying Timkovski's *Journey*, p. 25.

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101 114 inquired among the Goldi about the name of the Samagir or of the people on the Gorin and those on the Kur, they named the one as well as the /103/ other for me repeatedly as the "Kile," evidently because they bore this collective name among the Chinese and then designated themselves with it when dealing with them. G [101] The Gilyak also gave me the name "Kil" for the Samagir. Since the Goldi and the Gilyak languages are completely different, the obvious conclusion is that this can only be G Gi [197] a foreign name. Finally, I have sometimes heard Chinese merchants traveling along the Amur designate even the northern G Gi 101 and more distant Goldi, as a rule the Olcha, and, indeed, even the Gilyak with this or a similar name. One such merchant, for instance, whom I met in Amtscho on the Amur, eagerly asked me whether the "Kilam" or "Kilang" living farther downstream had many sables, and, in order to make himself better understood, he also named this animal in the Kilam language the word sounded like "lombr," and the Gilyak "lumr" can be clearly recognized. G 101 The Gilyak were quite similarly called "Ki-li-mi" by the Chinese companions of the missionary Venault when he went down the Amur in order to investigate the death of de la Brunière, who had been killed by them (1).

G [113] 1. Venault, "Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie /Journey into the Interior Parts of Manchuria/" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, 5th series, Vol. XXX,1852 /Vol. II/, pp. 216-223.

G Gi 101 114 From all that has been said it is clear that the Chinese include under the collective designation Kil, Kile, Kilang, Kilam, etc. both the peoples of the left, northern and western tributaries of the lower Amur River, of the Kur, Gorin, and Amgunj, and the dwellers along the lower course of the main river, itself, and, to be sure, especially the Gilyak, whom they know least, but also the Olcha, and sometimes even part of the Goldi; or, in other words, just as in the case of the Fiaka and Chādshen,

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they also have the Kile and Kileng begin in the lower Amur region all the sooner or all the farther upstream the less their knowledge of the region and its population. The most distant of these peoples, the Negda and even more the Gilyak, were therefore most frequently and most generally included under this collective name.

As we saw above, the first information about the Kiler people on the mouth of the Amur came from the Chinese via the Daur and the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus to the Russians, among whom this name, provided with a Russian ending, became "Kilorzy." Only a little later, when they themselves took their expeditions down the Amur, they must have, in the lower course of it, repeatedly heard of the Kile or Kileng living downstream, until they reached the last of these peoples and discovered in them a people actually completely different from the Tungusic tribes whom they already knew. For them they now retained the traditional name, only, of course, provided with a Russian ending, as Kiljaki, Kiljaizy, Kiljany, etc., out of which developed, according to the spirit of the language, Giljaki, Giljaizy, Giljany, etc. Thus we come to all the versions of this name which Witsen gave from Russian sources and which are explained in part by the aforementioned various versions of the Chinese name for the Kile people and in part by the arbitrary selection of the Russian ending.

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/104/ It could not have failed to happen, however, that some of the Russian Cossacks who went down the Amur in boats did not become aware of the tribal difference between the adjacent Tungusic peoples and the Gilyak. They, therefore, since they used that designation, like the Chinese, more or less as a collective name, had the Gilyak begin much farther up on the Amur than their true boundary lies. During the later, more precise examination of the statements concerned, we shall see, for example, that, according to some, the region of the Gilyak begins with the Olcha area; according to others, even sooner, shortly below the Ussuri, and therefore in the midst of the Goldi area. And, significantly enough, this is repeated, like an echo of those times, to this day. It has been stressed above how

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vague and incorrect all the modern Russian reports concerning the southern border of the Gilyak on the Amur are, how generally this border is put deep in the Olcha area, even in the Goldi area and in the latter up to the Ussuri (1). The chief reason for this

1. See above, p. 51 and p. 183, note 1.

lies in the fact that even today the designation "Gilyak" is often used by the Russians as a collective name for all the dwellers along the lower Amur River and the adjacent seacoast. For the common man it is almost always customary to call the Olcha, the Goldi, and, as I myself became convinced, even the Orochi of de Castries /De-Kastri/ and Kaiserhafen simply Gilyak. A traveler, therefore, who based his statements on what was said by Russian settlers or Cossacks -- and many have done it -- could give nothing but false information about the territorial boundaries of the Gilyak and the other peoples named above. But even a traveler like Boschnjak /Boshniak/, who clearly and correctly indicated the boundaries between the Gilyak and the Olcha for him, Mangun on the basis of the radical difference between their respective languages, nevertheless in the same article speaks of "Kidsi-Gilyaken," though there are no Gilyak in the narrow and true sense in Kidsi at all (2). The use of this designation

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2. See above, p. 52, note 2.

as a collective name for many peoples of the lower-Amur region often renders the oldest Russian reports useless for an investigation of a possible shift of the habitation sites of the Gilyak and their neighbors, just as is the case, for the same reason, for all the Chinese reports concerning the Kile or Kileng.

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While, according to the above discussion, there appears to be no doubt but that the Russian name Gilyak for the people around the mouth of the Amur arose from the Chinese Kile or Kileng, the question remains as to how the origin of this latter

Tungus RUS
Goldi RX3

G 101 174 /104 cont./

designation is to be explained. Unfamiliar with any kind of linguistic research, I shall permit myself in this connection only to express a surmise to which I have been led by several facts.

Gi G T 101 174 It is readily observed that many names of Tungusic peoples, tribes, or kin groups have a final syllable gir. Disregarding the many examples of this kind among the Tungus of Siberia (3), I

T [113] 3. Many such names may be found among the Tungus tribes from various regions of Siberia enumerated by Georgi (Bemerk. auf einer Reise im Russ. Reiche im Jahre 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in the Year 1772/, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1775, pp. 244-246).

give /105/ as examples among the Tungus tribes living or roaming in the Amur region the Manegir, Ullagir, Bojagir, Lalegir, Guragir, Samagir, some kin groups of the Negda, such as the Muktegir, Tschutktschagir, Njassekagir, Tschemakogir (1), etc(2).

G. Gi T [114] 1. Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1523) erroneously writes the final syllable "Muktegr, Tschuktschager, Njässekagr, Tschemakogr."

2. When this final syllable occurs in the name of a non-Tungusic people, such as "Yukagir," then I suspect that the name is of Tungusic origin.

T G. Gi [131] It is noteworthy that these are all dwellers along the left, northern and western tributaries of the Amur River. I do not know the meaning of this final syllable gir. The Tungus vocabularies at my disposal (3) give no information concerning it.

T [113] 3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, linguistic atlas, Paris, 1823, pp. XLII ff. Castrén's

2: Schrenck--216 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Tungus RUS

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3. (cont.)
Grundzüge einer tungus. Sprachlehre nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichniss /Principles of a Tungusic Grammar with a Short Vocabulary/. ed. by A. Schiefner. St. Petersb. 1856.

However that may be, *gir* becomes *kil* in the Chinese pronunciation, and I have heard the Chinese pronounce the name "Samagir" as "Sama-kil." Likewise the names of the other above-mentioned Tungusic tribes end in *kil* in Chinese. Consequently it seems to me not unlikely that they made this common ending into a collective name for all these peoples of the northern and lower Amur region, including as well the, in their eyes, not essentially different Gilyak. From Kil and Kileng, however, arose, as was shown above, the Russian designation Kiljaki and Giljaki. And thus there results, if my surmise is correct, the strange fact that the collective name for a number of almost exclusively Tungusic tribes, which arose from the distortion of a Tungusic word by the Chinese, is at present limited to the one people who throughout the entire lower Amur region is *not* Tungusic in origin.

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After this digression we now return to an examination of the historical accounts concerning the habitation sites of the Amur peoples, and first of the Gilyak. Very soon after the Russians learned of the existence of the Gilyak, they became acquainted with them themselves. During the years 1644 and 1645, on their first expedition into the Amur region, under Wassilij Pojarkof /Poyarkov/, they traveled throughout the region of the Gilyak on the Amur. Only after a four-days' trip down the Ussuri -- which Pojarkof, by the way, thought was the upper Amur -- did the Djutscheren (Dyuchery) people come an end, who will be discussed later, the Natken (Natki) followed, and after them the Gilyak, who, as the report states, occupied the lowermost part of the Amur River to the sea. Pojarkof went through the areas of the latter two peoples in 14 days for each of them, until he reached the mouth of the Amur, where

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175 stopped on September 29 and at a place on the left bank where there was a large village he erected a fort, Atschanskoi gorod, for a wintering place. From there one could supposedly by a [131] ten days' journey reach the Gilyak, who lived all the way to the sea and around it (2). Chabarof, however, did not visit them, but in the next spring, after successfully enduring the siege of his fortress by the Djutscheren and Atschanen, set out again upstream with his expedition. On the way, however, presumably in the region of the mouth of the Sungari, he missed the Cossack Iwan Nagiba who had been sent to look for him and to inform him of the arrival of a fresh supply of men and ammunition on the upper Amur. Nagiba and his small company of 26 Cossacks and volunteers went down the Amur from Banbulajev gorod (above the Dseja /Zeya/) for four weeks; then they heard from a captured Natken that Chabarof was farther 195 648 downstream among the Gilyak. They retained this man as a guide, but after another journey of three weeks they found themselves so surrounded in the middle of the river by a crowd of Gilyak boats that they could not move forward or backward. For two and a half weeks they remained in this position, anchored in the river, until finally hunger and despair forced them to break through the ranks of the besiegers and make their way to a nearby village, where they confiscated some fish that was hanging out in front to dry. They were able to do this, however, only after a stormy battle in which more than 30 Gilyak died. Three days later they found themselves at the mouth of the Amur (3). Hard pressed by the Gilyak there as

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2. Müller, *Samml. loc. cit.*, pp. 320 ff; Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 808 ff.: *Dopoln. k" aktam" istorich.*, Vol. III, pp. 364, 368.

[114] 3. Acc. to Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 328 ff. Here Müller gives June 26 as the date of Nagiba's arrival at the mouth of the Amur.

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3. (cont.)

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and at another place (Büsching's Magaz., Part 2, p. 508, July 2 (three days after the Day of Peter and Paul), which however cannot be correct if the trip, as is said previously, started on May 4 and -- putting together the above-mentioned periods of time -- lasted ten weeks. In Fischer (op. cit., p. 817) it is said instead toward the end of July, which, however, would be somewhat too late according to that reckoning. In the detailed [113] and rather drastic account by the Cossack Iwan Uwarof, a participant in the expedition (see Dopoln. k" aktam" istor., Vol. III, pp. 354 ff.) almost all these dates are lacking, except the date of departure (May 4) and the statement that after traveling for ten days they already found themselves amidst many Djutscheren and Natken, who thereafter kept attacking them and gave them no peace; the siege by Gilyak vessels on the Amur is said to have lasted only two weeks.

175 [648] well and unable /107/ to make the return trip upstream, they built themselves a larger vessel and began the sea journey along the coast to the north. On the thirteenth day after their departure (1), however, the vessel was crushed by drifting ice (2).

1. According to Uwarof's report (op. cit., p. 355), on the tenth day.

[114] [133] 2. Müller (op. cit., p. 330) considers drifting ice in the Sea of Okhotsk as inconceivable at that time of the year. On the other hand, thanks to the experiences of Middendorff, Starizkij, and

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175 during which they lost their entire supply of food and ammunition and only after much hardship barely escaped with their lives. They continued on foot for five days along the seacoast, living on roots, berries, seatang, seals, and whatever else the ocean washed up (3). Then they built a new vessel, with which in 14 days, by rowing they reached the Utschalda River, on which Gilyak and Tungus lived. They stayed there until December 15 whereupon they continued their journey inland and after 14 days, or, according to other information, after four weeks, came to the Tugur River, on which they found a large Tungus population with abundant food. The following spring, 1653, Nagiba went down the Tugur to its mouth and from there, with five men, started the return trip to Yakutsk along the sea and then across the mountains, while he sent back the other men under Iwan Uwarof in order to build among the Tungus on the Tugur a "Jassaschnoje Simowjo," that is, a winter hut for collecting tribute (4).

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2. (cont.)
others, we know that it is a characteristic feature of that northwestern corner of the Sea of Okhotsk. See the present work, Vol. II, p. 758, and my "Strömungsverhältnisse im Ochotskischen und Japanischen Meere /Currents in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan/" (*Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb.*, Ser. VII, Vol. XXI, No. 3), p. 10.

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3. Fischer (*op. cit.*, p. 818) also mentions walruses, as does Uwarof's account, but it is well known that there are none in the Sea of Okhotsk; this is probably a reference to whales, which abound in this sea.

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175 648 The next and last contact of the Russians with the Gilyak which we know about from this period of the first Russian military expeditions into the Amur region took place under Chabarof's successor, the Cossack Onufrij Stepanof. The latter had already spent the winter of 1653/54 in Djutscheren territory, "in the neighborhood of the Gilyak" (5). In the fall of 1655, with the "Ssyn bojarskoi" Fedor Puschtschin who had been sent from Yakutsk in the meantime, he again went into the lower Amur region, and this time beyond the Djutscheren to the Gilyak bordering them (6). Shortly before, the latter had killed a company of 30 Yakutsk Cossacks, who had reached them by land from Okhotsk, and were now punished for it by Stepanof. Moreover, he built an ostrog /fort/ among them, to which, because of its position on a mountain slope, he gave the name Kossogorskoi (7). He spent the winter in it, took from the Gilyak

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175 [114] 4. Curiously Uwarof says in his account that he sent Nagiba with five men, whose names he gives, to Yakutsk, while elsewhere he constantly refers to Nagiba as the leader of the expedition.

[113] 5. Müller, *Samml.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 343. In Stepanof's report to the Yakutsk voivode, Michail Lodyshenskij (*Dopoln. k" aktam" istor.*, Vol. III, p. 524), it is said "*v" Dyucherskoi zemlie, ne doplyv" Gilyatskie zemli,* that is, in the country of the Djutscheren, above the Gilyak country.

6. Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 354, 355; Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 849.

7. In Stepanof's report the ostrog is called

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175 648 7. (cont.)
"Kossogirskoi"; see *Dopoln. k" akt. istor.*, Vol. IV, St. Petersburg, 1851, p. 82.

a handsome /108/ tribute in furs, and in the spring of 1656 again went up the Amur. Two years later part of his company who did not want to submit to the delegate of the new commander, Paschkof, and had fled, returned to the lower Amur, wintered at its mouth (1658/59), and went back upstream again with the rich tribute collected from the Gilyak (1). There are

1. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 367; *Dopoln. k" aktam" istor.*, Vol. IV, p. 176.

no other reports concerning the Gilyak during this visit of the Russians among them.

175 131 So run the oldest Russian reports concerning the Gilyak and their closest neighbors. What may be drawn from them with regard to the mutual boundaries of these peoples at that time? Nagiba's expedition acquainted us with the Gilyak along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk westward at least as far as the Utschalda River, and, to be sure, in the company of the Tungus, who apparently at that time occasionally roamed to the sea to hunt and fish, as is still done today (2). To be sure, the

2. See above, p. 25.

location of the Utschalda River has not yet been ascertained (3),

175 131 114 [113] 3. Middendorff, *Reise*, etc., Vol. IV, p. 178. It is incomprehensible how Stuckenberg (*Hydrogr. des Russischen Reiches*, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1844, p. 749) could identify the Utschalda with the Udj. In doing this he confused the very simple and clear account from the expedition of the shipwrecked, and

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3. (cont.)
was forced to a second and likewise unacceptable assumption, namely, that their "Tugur" referred to the Utschur, a tributary of the Aldan. But then how did they reach the ocean, going down it in boats? And how incorrect this hypothesis is ethnographically: the Gilyak would have lived along the Udj!

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but there is scarcely any doubt that it is to be sought in the east and perhaps not far from the great bays -- Ulban and Ussalgin -- which cut deep into the land and which probably caused Nagiba and his companions to give up any further travel along the coast, about whose nature they had heard from the Gilyak and the Tungus, and instead to wait for the winter, in order to go inland along the Tugur, probably in the company of and guided by the Tungus. Neither Nagiba nor Uwarof mention the Gilyak along this river, but only numerous Tungus, although, as their reports show, they could perfectly well distinguish these peoples from each other. Hence it seems that at that time the Gilyak had not yet spread to the Tugur River. This is confirmed by the fact that in the account of the first trip of the Russians to the Shantar Islands, on which they spent the whole summer of 1712 and the winter until May of the following year at the mouth of the Tugur, the Gilyak are not mentioned at all (4), whereas

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4. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 98.

during the later trips by the Russians along the coast farther to the east conflicts with the Gilyak did take place. There is further confirmation in the fact that in 1737, on the basis of reports collected in Yakutsk, Müller wrote that along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk the Tungus did not extend much beyond

175 131 [484] [224] /109 cont./

purposes (2). Müller thought that their name was of Gilyak

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2. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 97.

origin, since "schantar" means "island" in Gilyak (3), which,

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3. Op. cit., p. 96. Also in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Part 2, second ed., p. 510.

however, is certainly not the case (4). When the Russians

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4. In Gilyak "island" is póllo-mif, a compound word in which mif means "earth" or "land"; thus, La-mif -- the Amur region, Laer-mif -- Sakhalin, Chagi-mif --part of the Amur-Liman, etc. I do not know the meaning of pollo. According to Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108), the name "Schantar" first occurs on the handwritten map of the extreme eastern part of Siberia drawn up in 1720 and based on the works of the two surveyors, Jewreinof and Lushin, and, to be sure, on it the more southerly of the two easternmost islands of this group bears the name, "Schandarskij."

175 131 648 when The Russians

under the Cossack Semjon Anabara first came to the Shantar Islands in the summer of 1713, they found them uninhabited; on only one of the three islands visited by them, on which there were ample forests and good hunting and on which they spent the winter (5), did they meet a woman, whose language

5. According to Middendorff (op. cit.,

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they could not understand -- presumably a /110/ Gilyak woman, who, however, disappeared, and there is no information given about her anywhere later (1). It cannot be determined whether in fact this woman had been left behind on the island by her countrymen or whether, as Middendorff thinks (2), was abducted by the Cossacks themselves on the mainland and was brought to the island. Subsequent expeditions to the Shantars con- 175 131 firmed that they had no permanent inhabitants. On the second trip, in 1718, under the Ssyn bojarskoi Filkejef, who, however, did not go there himself (3), the winter was spent on

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175 131 648 5. (cont.) p. 98), it was probably Large Shantar Island /Bolshoi/.

1. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

2. *Reise*, etc., Vol. IV, p. 103.

175 113 •114 3. Müller (*Samml. Russ. Gesch.*, Vol. III, p. 107), who spoke to Filkejef himself in Yakutsk, says expressly that because of differences with his men he had himself put ashore with two Cossacks at the mouth of the Tugur. Accordingly, therefore, the statements by Ssokolof ("Opis' Udskago ber. i Shantarsk. ostr. poruch. Kozmina /A Description of the Uda Bank and of the Shantar Islands, Commissioned by Kozmin/. *Zap. Gidrogr. Depart.*, Part IV. St. Petersburg, 1846, p. 3, note 4) and by Middendorff (*Reise*, etc., Vol. IV, p. 99, note 1), who have Filkejef himself reach the Shantars, are to be corrected.

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175 [131] Large Shantar Island, which proved to be uninhabited. Through carelessness in making fire, it is said, the forests on the island caught fire and as a result the sable disappeared there. 175 648 On the return trip the following summer the Cossacks wanted to do some fishing along the coast of the mainland between the Tugur and the Amur, but most of them were killed by the Gilyak (4).

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4. Presumably there is a connection between this event and the story that Ssokolof relates, apparently copied verbatim from a logbook, in Morskoi Sbornik (1855, No. 6, Miscellany, p. 107 -- it is the entry hinted at by Middendorff, op. cit., p. 99, note 2, which he was unable to find again as the result of an incorrect citation). Seaman Petrof, who had participated in Iwan Schestakof's expedition to the Shantars in 1730, related that they had found on Large Shantar Island and had taken aboard three Russian men, who gave the following information about themselves: they had spent about 20 years on the island; when they had come to the land of the Gilyak to fish, the latter had overcome them and killed 17 of them; only three of them escaped the Gilyak and got away to Large Shantar Island where they had lived ever since. One can see that the account is quite similar to the one mentioned above, though, if it is the same event, the twenty-year stay on the island does not fit, since it could only be twelve. But this number is given only roughly and, in view of the style of the narrative, which clearly shows a gap, could just as well refer

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/110 cont./ 4. (cont.)

175 648 114 to the number of Russians originally present on the island, in which case the number of years of the stay would have been omitted, for the Russian original reads: *zhit'ya ikh" bylo na tom" ostrovie liet" s" 20, kotorye khodilp v" tu zemlyu dlya rybnoi lovli*..., etc. This information is also interesting because to a certain extent it is confirmation that in 1730 (not 1729 as is said in Middendorff and others), Schestakof had actually been on the Shantars, about which Middendorff, on the basis of the short and insufficient reports in Müller (*op. cit.*, pp. 130 ff.), expresses doubt. According to him, the islands seen by Schestakof on the trips back and forth between Kamchatka and Udskoi Ostrog were not necessarily the Shantar Islands at all, since he navigated around the southern point of that peninsula and arrived at its east coast. The latter assertion, however, seems to me wholly unfounded, since Schestakof's trips, according to data from his own reports presented by Müller, took place only in the Sea of Okhotsk between the west coast of Kamchatka, Udskoi Ostrog, and Okhotsk. Müller himself never expresses doubt or uncertainty about the fact that Schestakof had visited the Shantar Islands, but only regrets being unable to give more detailed information about this trip because of the absence of the logbook.

175 131 484 It is noteworthy that all the accounts concerning the temporary visits of the Gilyak to the Shantar Islands are inadequate and

/110 cont./
175 dubious. So far as is known, the Gilyak were never met there
137 directly during any of the numerous visits to these islands.
484 The pertinent accounts therefore only rest on the above-mentioned
statements by the neighboring Tungus /111/ and on alleged
traces that the temporary stay of the Gilyak on many of these
175 islands has left behind. According to Kraschenninikof
103 /Krasheninnikov/ (1), the island of Chudoi (i.e., bad) Shantar is said to have received its name because it had no forest at all, which, however, had not always been the case: formerly it had been quite densely wooded and rich in sable, but the Gilyak once forgot to extinguish the fire before leaving the island, and all the forest on it was burned (2). Kraschenninikof,

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[113] 1. "Opisanie zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/" (Poln. Sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rissi, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1818, p. 135).

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2. Middendorff thinks that it is probably impossible to put the name "Chudoi Schantar," which is not marked on any map, in its proper place (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108, note 1). According to Kraschenninikof's statements, which he does not seem to have noted, it can hardly be doubted but that Small Schantar Island (Malyi Shantar") is meant by it; just as it is also by the name "Ssuchoi (dry) Schantar," according to Middendorff (loc. cit.). On the "Karte von der Lage von Kamtschatka" /Map of the Location of Kamchatka/ in Steller's pertinent work one finds an island "Hudé Schantar" west of the island of Bjelitschij, just as Kraschenninikof, too, gives it, but this

/111 cont./

175 131 •114 103

2. (cont.)
does not mean much, since the Shantar Islands lie there all in a row approximately from west to east.

175 114 [103] Kraschenninikof however, must have obtained this information from traditions and stories, since he himself was never on the Shantar Islands, or even near them. Moreover, it is very reminiscent of the above-mentioned story about the burning of the forest on Large Shantar Island, which does not exactly serve to increase its [361] credibility. Kosmin's statement in the northeastern part of Large Shantar Island not far from Lake Boljschoje he had seen dilapidated yurts in which Gilyak were said to have formerly lived (3) seems more important. But we encounter uncertainty even with respect to this report, in that the traditions that Middendorff discovered in Udskoi Ostrog expressly attributed [484] these yurts to Russian fur trappers (4). In spite of these few and uncertain reports, I do not doubt but that the Gilyak visited the Shantar Islands in former times. Full credence should be given to the above-mentioned report to this effect by the Tungus, which came with the very first report concerning these 175 131 484 islands. Whereas the Tungus along the Sea of Okhotsk are primarily hunters and come to the sea only temporarily to fish, the Gilyak stay there continually and are therefore much better seafarers than the former, as Müller has already correctly surmised (5). Hence it seems entirely plausible that from time

3. Zap. Gidrogr. Depart., Part IV, p. 46.

4. Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 108, note 1. Middendorff adds that this seems much more probable to him.

5. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, p. 97.

Gi 175 101 114

/112 cont./ Pojarkof with the designation Natki referred to the same people as Chabarof later did with the name Atschany. Fischer's conjectures in explanation of these different names, however, are altogether wrong (5). The difference is explained very simply /113/ if by "Natken" and "Atschanen," not one people, but rather, according to our distinction, two peoples, the Goldi and the Olcha -- as often happened later on -- are understood, with Pojarkof borrowing the name of the former for the allegedly one people, and Chabarof the latter.

Gi 175 101 648

I believe that one can conclude that the name Natken actually refers to the Goldi for the following reasons. Mention of a people of this name is made in the oldest account that the Russians received from the Amur (1). Namely, when Tomsk

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5. Fischer thought that perhaps these people, called Atschani in their own language, were named Natki by the Djutscheren, or that the one might be the name of the entire people, the other that of a particular family, or finally, that the Natken and Gilyak were one and the same people. The last seemed to him the most probable because in the later accounts, in Stepanof's report, the Natken were no longer mentioned at all, and the Djutscheren were named as neighbors of the Gilyak. In this case, however, the Atschanen would likewise have to be eliminated, being identified with the Gilyak. Both are entirely inadmissible. Later on we shall find another explanation for Stepanof's statement.

1. Müller, *Samml. Russ. Gesch.*, Vol. II, p. 295.

Gi /115 cont./

101 114 175 syllable in order to recognize in this designation the name Olcha only slightly changed. And this is the name that this people gives itself. I shall come back to this later. Chabarof also named the fort which he erected for winter quarters Atschanskoi gorod after this people. It cannot be learned from his report where it was located. I believe that one may assume, however, that it was already in Olcha territory since it was the last place he reached along the Amur and since he must have learned the name given for the Olcha people, appearing before us here for the first time, from them themselves. Or else it may have been that Olcha staying in Goldi territory were accidentally involved in the learning of the name, which, however, is less probable. Chabarof must therefore have proceeded quite far below the Ussuri on the Amur. In view of the relatively short duration of his voyage from the mouth of the Sungari (3), however, that would have been possible only if he followed the main stream and not the right bank with its many bays. And this appears to have been the case in fact, for otherwise he would surely not have overlooked the mouth of the Ussuri.

G. Gi 101 •114 175 Although we learn about the present neighbors of the /116/ Gilyak on the Amur through Pojarkof and Chabarof, nothing can be learned from their reports about where the boundaries between these peoples were at that time because the statements of the distances in terms of days of travel, without any designation or mention of recognizable localities, are too vague and

3. The duration of this voyage cannot be determined very precisely; from what can be learned from Chabarof's account, however, he seems to have been at the mouth of the Sungari on about September 15 and to have gone downstream from there for 14 days, for he reached the place where he set up his winter quarters on September 29.

G. /116 cont./

G 101 114 175 do not provide any firm foothold. At first glance, it seems that somewhat more can be drawn from Stepanof's report since he built a fort, Kossogorskoi Ostrog, among the Gilyak in order to spend the winter there. As Romanof has shown, however, this place was most probably located on the island of Ssutschu located in the Amur near Kidsi. He found there the remains of a G. Gi [103] low earthen embankment with pits in it, traces of former earth dwellings -- the whole located on the inclined plane of a mountain slope so that the name Kossogorskoi Ostrog seems fully justified (1). From this I conclude that Stepanof did not spend the winter among the Gilyak at all, but among the Olcha, whom he, like Romanof and others later (2), did not distinguish from the Gilyak. This also explains his statements concerning the Djutscheren bordering the Gilyak: he includes under this name all the peoples on the lower Amur River -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak -- as is still repeatedly done in recent times. This sufficiently explains the contradiction between the statements by Stepanof and his predecessors, Pojarkof and Chabarof, concerning the peoples of the lower Amur, and at the same time reveals the former, as a consequence of the collective extension of the name Gilyak to entirely different peoples, as the most

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1. D. Romanov", "Ocherk" miestnosti mezhdu zal. de Kastri i r. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXIX, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 126, note 4). Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 355) explained the name Kossogorskoi Ostrog from the location of the place "on the slope of a mountain." In Onufrij Stepanof's original account, this fort is not called Kossogorskoi, but Kossogirskoi Ostrog (Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. IV, 1851, p. 82).

2. See above, p. 51, 183, 213.

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RX2 ●
Goldi RX3
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

/116 cont./

G vague and the least useful for our purposes (3).

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3. As was mentioned above (p. 234, note 5), Fischer, on the contrary, was inclined to regard Stepanof's account as the most authoritative. For this reason, on his map of old Siberia (Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, Pl. II) he showed the Natken, who, perhaps in his opinion, could only be identical with the Gilyak, below the Atschanen, whereas, according to our interpretation of these names above, it should have been the other way around.

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The later, but still from the seventeenth-century, Russian accounts concerning the Amur region, and especially concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak in it, such as we find in the "Tale from the Amur" published by Spasskij and in Witsen, have already been discussed (4). The pertinent statements are very

4. See above, pp. 196 ff.

general and in part even erroneous, because they are only taken from collected stories and not original reports, like those mentioned above.

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The next detailed reports concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak, especially along the Amur River, do not come to us until more than a century later, and, to be sure, from quite different parties, from the Japanese. We owe them to the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinsô /Rinzô Mamiya/, who, upon orders from his government, explored the west coast of Sakhalin in 1808 and 1809 and in 1810 also visted the lower Amur region, or Santan, as the Japanese called it. From /117/ Cape Rakka (Lak) (1) on Sakhalin he went over to the mainland, followed its

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1. Siebold, to whom we are indebted for publishing the very valuable travels of Mamia Rinso ("Tô-tats ki ko," i.e., "Voyage to Eastern Tatary," in Nippon,

RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3

F.J.
G /117 cont./

114 175 103 [113]

1. (cont.)
VII, pp. 167-196), thinks it highly probable that Cape Rakka referred to Cape Tekka, and the first name arose only through confusion of the very similar Japanese characters for *Te* and *Ra* (*op. cit.*, p. 199, note 6). From my own knowledge of these localities, however, I must deny this. Cape Rakka is undoubtedly the low promontory of Lak, inasmuch as the Japanese, lacking the *l* sound in their language, as is well known, substitute an *r* for it; Cape Tekka, however, is the somewhat more southerly Cape Tyk.

F.J. 175 G 175 361 coast southward to Cape Musibo (in Taba Bay), pulled his boat across the much-traversed towpath to the small Taba River, traveled downstream by boat into Lake Kidsi, and thus reached the large village of Kidsi located on the Amur. From there he went up the Amur to what was then the trading station of Deren, stayed there a few days, and then returned to Sakhalin by following the Amur downstream to its mouth and crossing the Liman three times. G F.J. 175 177 On this voyage he came into close contact with the Gilyak and their southern neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha. Both were already known to him and to the Japanese generally: G [13] the former both as permanent inhabitants of north Sakhalin and as frequent visiting traders in Ssiranussi; Gi [439] the latter only as occasional traders coming over from the mainland. F.J. G [101] Mamia Rinsô even spent the entire winter of 1809/10 on Cape Noteito (2) among the Sakhalin Gilyak. "Smerenkur" is the

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2. Between Cape Lak and Cape Tyk.
There was no village there in my time.

000 name that they bear in his travel account, as well as generally among the Japanese. A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who

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175 131 than that the neighbors adjacent to the Gilyak on the south were the same 200 years ago as they are today. The only thing known with absolute certainty is that the boundary situation which I found there in the fifties was exactly the same as it was half a century earlier.

175 131 If we now go back to the island of Sakhalin, we are faced there with an even greater scarcity of useful older reports. In the above-mentioned reports from the earliest expeditions that the Russians conducted to the mouth of the Amur and beyond, no special attention is given to it, though in one of them it is generally noted that the Gilyak also occupy the nearby islands in the ocean (1) which however, could just as well refer to the Shantar Islands (2). Not until the above-mentioned "Tale from the Great Amur River," likewise from the seventeenth century, and to a certain extent also in Witsen, is it said more precisely that opposite the mouth of the Amur there is a large island on which numerous "Gilyak peoples" live (3). Elsewhere Witsen

1. In Pojarkof's report (see Müller, *Samml. Russ. Gesch.*, Vol. II, p. 302).

•[114] 2. Fischer, in this connection, actually confused Sakhalin with the Shantars (see his *Sibir. Gesch.*, Part II, p. 788, and the map, "Sibiriae veteris," Pl. II).

[113] 3. Spasskii, "Svied. Russk. o r. Amurie v" XVII stol. /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/" (*Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch.*, Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20). Witsen, *Noord en Oost*

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3. (cont.)
Tart., ed. of 1692, Pt. 2, p. 32; ed. of 1705, p. 87. Cf. also Müller, in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Histor. und Geogr., Pt. 2, 2nd ed., p. 506.

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Elsewhere Witsen remarks that this island was called "Giliat" (4). What is said

4. Op. cit., ed. of 1705, p. 96.

otherwise about the places on this island that are mentioned, even though based on facts and the truth, nevertheless has the character of accounts based upon hearsay, as, for instance, the statement about the high reed thicket that makes its coast inaccessible, and the like. And as a matter of fact, we do not have any reliable reports on Sakhalin and its people in that period, not even brief ones like those on the Amur region, because this island had no contact with the Russians at all in the seventeenth century. Later on, in the eighteenth century, when the Russians undertook voyages to the Shantars, Sakhalin, as was mentioned above (5), was repeatedly visited by Russian

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5. See above, p. 171.

deserters, shipwrecked persons, etc., but no reports about it have come down to us.

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The oldest Chinese reports about Sakhalin provide just as slight a foothold. When the Jesuits Regis, Jartoux, and Fridelli drew up the map of the lower Amur River, the natives told them that opposite the mouth of the Amur /121/ there was an island which was inhabited by a people similar to them. Consequently, Emperor Kang-hi soon afterwards sent several Manchu to explore the island, and they crossed over to it in the boats of the natives, but, according to the testimony of the Jesuits, their task was

RX2
Manchu AG4
Feudal Japan AB2
sakhalin Island

G M /121 cont./

175 177 carried out very unsatisfactorily, since they did not go to the southern part of the island at all and even in the north they noted only the names of the villages through which they passed, while even the name of the island as a whole remained uninvestigated (1). We do not even learn from them the names of the peoples inhabiting the island.

F.J. G 175 178 We are again indebted to the Japanese for the first detailed reports on the peoples of Sakhalin, and, to be sure, the same travelers, Mogami Tok'nai (1785 and 1786) and Mamia Rinsô (1808-1810). In 1613-1615, a century before the Manchu expedition, some Japanese were sent from Jesso /Yesso/

G M [103] [113] [114] 1. Du Halde, *Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chin*, Vol. IV, Paris, 1735, pp. 12, 13. According to the statements of the Manchu sent there, the natives on the mainland designate the island quite differently, each according to the villages that they visited on it, but the general name for it was "Saghalian anga hata," that is, "island of the mouth of the Black River," a designation which the Jesuits put on their map, and from which, as is well known the present name arose. According to Klaproth (*Asia polygl.*, p. 301), however, the words "Sachalian anga chada" mean only "rocks (not island) of the black river-mouth" and merely referred to some rocks lying close to the mouth of the Amur. I must note that the banks of the river at its mouth, especially the left one, are rocky, though not very high. But there are no individual rocks emerging from the water in front of it. For more of the many names given to Sakhalin,see below.

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6. (cont.)
"Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

000 G A 101 after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese

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7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyê," which, according to Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuã, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later, along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

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G /129 cont./
103 To conclude the series of names for the island of Sakhalin
occasionally mentioned above, the readily explicable, as it
seems to me, etymology of the last-mentioned Gilyak name
G for this island might be considered here in passing. I believe
[192] that "Laer-mif" originated from "La-erri-mif," which, since
"La" is the Gilyak name for the Amur, but "erri" means stream
or river, and "mif," land, earth, is to say "Amur-River-Land" (8).

8. The Amur region itself is called "La-mif" among the Gilyak.

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[114] Hence the Gilyak name for Sakhalin has the same meaning as
the one that, according to the Jesuit missionaries, those Manchu
sent by Emperor Kang-hi to explore the island wanted to express
with the designation /130/ "Saghalian anga hata," although this
expression, according to Klaproth, is not quite correct (1).

1. See above, p. 252, note 1.

This automatically calls forth the thought as to whether the Gilyak name for the island in the form "La-erri-mif" was not translated for them.

A If one summarizes all that has been said about the Ainu,
174 the conclusion can be drawn that they were pushed out of the
648 southern part of their original habitation area, from Nippon, by
131 the Japanese in the historical period, and were forced to move
103 farther north. The large mountainous island of Jesso /Yesso/ in
the center of their distribution area seems above all to be the
Ainu region, which they alone occupied until the arrival of the
Japanese and which among them was simply called Aino /Ainu/
Island (Aino-mosiri, Ainso). From there they may have occupied the southern part of Sakhalin and the nearest of the
Kurile Islands, Kunaschir and Iturup, even in ancient times;
the Japanese advancing from Nippon to Jesso and beyond also
A certainly forced them to spread farther in two directions, north
174 and northeast. On Sakhalin the expansion of the Ainu seems to
184 have been more peaceful and gradual than on the Kurile Islands,
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RX2
Goldi RX3
Orochi

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6. (cont.) (*Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr.* Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399; the same, "Ussuriiskie Man'tszy /The Ussurie Man-dse/" (*Izviestiia Russk. Geogr. Obshch.*, Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, pp. 93, 123).

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repeatedly designated for me by the Goldi on the Ussuri with the immediately recognizable name "Kăkar," but once also only quite generally and vaguely as "Lámuka" (sea dwellers). It is noteworthy that the former name is also customary among the Gilyak for the Orochi. During his stay among the Sakhalin Gilyak, Mamia Rinsô learned of a "Kiakkara" people, who were said to live on the mainland opposite (7), and later in

7. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, *Nippon*, VII, p. 169).

Taba Bay, when he himself visited the mainland, he saw their vessels, which came from afar, he thought from the vicinity of Kôraĭ (Korea) (8). Among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk,

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8. *Op. cit.*, p. 171. Prompted by a fortuitous similarity of sound, Siebold attempts a far-fetched interpretation of this name by saying that "Kiak kara" reminds one of the Mountain Kirgiz, called Kara, that is, the Blacks (*op. cit.*, p. 199).

Middendorff heard of a "Kjăchkal" people who were said to live along the Amur and beyond it (9). A Gilyak from Ytkyrn in the

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9. Travel report in the *Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc.*, Vol. IV, p. 235; *Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs*, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618.

SS. Gi 103 /146 cont./

SS. [105] On the other hand, it is perfectly conceivable that the Russian Cossacks made "Amur" out of Mamur (4). Thus, this name owes its origin to the Tungusic SS. Gi [114] peoples of the lower Amur region. I do not know the etymology of their above-mentioned designation for the Amur River. In any case, however, according to the above, it is quite inadmissible to look to it for the word "*amur*" or to regard the latter as of Gilyak origin, as Fischer and, following him, Ritter and others G 103 have done (5). The Gilyak have nothing to do with those G 103 designations for the Amur River; they call it, as we have already seen, quite differently -- "La" or "La-erri."

3. (cont.) claims to have heard at times.

4. Just as they later, for example, made Ussura, Uschura, Schura, and the like out of "Ussuri."

SS. Gi G 103 114 5. Fischer (*Sibirische Gesch.*, Part 1, p. 433; Part 2, p. 793) maintained that the Russians first heard the name "Amur" from the Tungus along the Udj and later from the Natken and Gilyak, among whom any large river is called "*amar*." Ritter (*Erdk. von Asien*, Vol. II, p. 298), evidently repeating this, says that "*amur*" or "*yamur*" means "large water" among the peoples named as well as among the Tungusic inhabitants along the shores of the eastern sea. This is not correct for either the Tungusic Amur peoples or for the Gilyak. In the language of the latter, "large water" would be "*pilja tschach*," and "large river," "*pilja erri*," the latter of which they actually use for the Amur occasionally.

RX2
Historical Manchuria AG2
Manchu AG4
Goldi RX3

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H.M /189 cont./ However
101 that may be, the name Nikan /190/ for the Chinese has, with
175 minor variations, penetrated to all the other Amur peoples
648 from the Manchu. I heard it in the lower Amur region among
G. the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak. To be sure, they ordinarily
Gi also call the Chinese merchants simply Manchu, but with more
[101] precise questioning they know very well how to indicate that
the former actually belong to another people subjugated by the
latter, which the Goldi and the Olcha named for me as the
"Nekan," the Gilyak sometimes "Neka" and "Nekagu" (1), at

1. Corresponding in form to the Gilyak names for the Negda, "Rdhy" and "Rdhyngu" (see p. 67 ff. above). Could it be that the suffix "gu" designates the collective idea, or means "people," like the Ainu "kur" or "gur"?

ooo other times "Nenga" (2). Since the Manchu officials are

G. 2. As a curiosity and example of how funda-
Gi mentally wrong and thoughtless the state-
114 ments of hasty travelers may be at times
101 when it is a matter of the name that a peo-
113 ple gives itself, the remark by Gamof will
serve ("Iz" putev. zamiet. astronoma, opredieliavsh. v" 1859g. miestn. rr. Amura i Usuri /From the Travel Notes of an Astronomer Who Determined the Location of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers/." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1862, Book I, Section on Research and Materials, p. 122), maintaining in all seriousness that the Goldi and Gilyak designated themselves with the name
H.M. "Nikanzen." Peschtschurof /Peshchurov/
101 (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1857, p.
114 304) speaks of "Nekanen" in what we called
113 the civilized section of the Amur River with-
out, it seems, realizing that there were
Chinese.

SS
162 /317 cont./ A more numerous Gilyak
G population on the island in former times is indicated, among
174 other things, by the fact that on the west coast there are two
161 villages which bear the name "Pilja-wo," that is, great village,
361 the one on the Sea of Okhotsk, the other on the northern part of
the Sea of Japan, and both are highly insignificant today (3).

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[113] 3. According to Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Insel Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sakhalin/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 233), the first of these villages has only one yurt today; concerning the other one, which has three of them, see above, p. 29, note 1. Incidentally, when
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● [114]
[731] Glehn, while discussing these traces of a formerly larger population on the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, also mentions the smallpox which broke out devastatingly in the fifties, this has nothing to do with the depopulation under discussion here. This is the above-mentioned epidemic of the winter of 1857/58, which at that time was still fresh in the memory, whereas that village had been deserted long before. But the smallpox left other marks of devastation behind, which will be discussed later.

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162 Nevertheless, this west coast of Sakhalin, turned toward the
[132] continent and the mouth of the Amur, is now, next to the Tymy /Tym'/ Valley, the most populous part of the island; the east coast with its much harsher climate is understandably much more deserted.

SS /318/ I must content myself with these general remarks con-
161 cerning the more or less large population of the various parts of
114 the Amur region and forgo numerical values because of the lack
of adequate data. To be sure, one does occasionally find state-
SS ments concerning the total number of individuals for particular
[175] Amur peoples, but these figures have little value. That the data

RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1

SS /319 cont./
161 114 36 the number of villages clearly cannot be a yardstick for judging the number of the population, because the villages are extremely variable in size, and some of them, for example, consist of only one house (3). The single factor in which, lacking a direct

G 161 114 3. Although all the later statements concerning the number of persons of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region, which, as a consequence of the Russian occupation and colonization of it, must have undergone great changes, lie outside the scope of this work, I should like to mention one of these statements here in passing, because it refers, or is supposed to refer, especially to the Gilyak who are in the forefront of my considerations. G [113] I am referring to the estimate of their number (in the years 1878-1880) made by Dr. N. Seeland in his article, "Die Ghiljaken, eine ethnographische Skizze" (Russische Revue, ed. by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882, p. 99). After he had considered the tax figures of the Russian ispravniks (district chiefs) for the mainland and with regard to Sakhalin questioned traveling fur traders, he came to the conclusion that "the whole Gilyak people amounts to 8,000 souls." The particulars of this total number, given according to the individual districts, explain its exceedingly large size, but at the same time make it absolutely untenable. G [162] For the number of the Gilyak of the Nikolayev District (from the seacoast up the Amur to Mariinsk), de Castries Bay, and Kaiserhafen is said to amount to about 4,000, the Gilyak in the Sofisk District (from Mariinsk to the Gorin) 1,000, and he estimates the number of Sakhalin Gilyak at about 3,000. G [101] According to this, Dr. Seeland includes as Gilyak

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3. (cont.)

not only all the Olcha, who are regarded as Gilyak by the ordinary Russian along the Amur as a rule and hence unfortunately very often by Russian travelers (see above, p. 213 ff and elsewhere), but also the Orochi of the seacoast from de Castries Bay to Kaiserhafen. How strange it must seem to one to find at the very beginning of an article supposedly dealing specifically with the Gilyak such a confusion of them with their neighboring tribes who are completely different linguistically and to some extent in their ways of life!

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count of the native population, a rather accurate yardstick for an approximate estimate of their strength might be found is the number of their winter dwellings, if this could be learned with certainty. One may easily convince himself of the correctness of this assertion with a more exact knowledge of how the dwellings are made among the Amur peoples. Let us now proceed to a consideration of this situation among the individual Amur peoples.

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A people such as the Gilyak, who provide for the direct satisfaction of their needs with regard to food, clothing, etc. almost exclusively by fishing and seal-catching, understandably settle along the largest bodies of water with the most fish in their territory and as close as possible to the water. Hence, all the Gilyak villages lie directly on the Amur River and the Liman, along the seacoast or along the Tymy River, the main artery of the northern half of Sakhalin; one would seek them in vain in the mountains or /320/ at any distance from the waters named. A more or less favorable locality is always chosen as a place to live -- along the seacoast, a small bay or inlet protected by a rock ledge against the prevailing gales; along the river, a dry bank towering above the high-water level, but with sufficiently deep water for landing the boats, with high woods or dense brush for protection against the wintry snowstorms, etc. Wherever the locality is favorable in

/320 cont./

361 1. (cont.)
Amur was covered with ice. In the spring of 1855, I found the Gilyak in the village of Ssabach, the first above Nikolayevsk, already in their summer dwellings located beside the winter houses on May 16 (28); in the villages farther upstream, however, up to Tacht, they had not yet moved into them at that time.

361 342 ● 114 sometimes the Gilyak living together in one village in winter separate to go to different places for the summer, only to come together again in the fall. If the winter and summer houses are located beside one another, as, for instance, in Wair (or Wait, as the Russians call it), the village seems much larger and more populous than it actually is. More than half of all the houses are then the summer houses, much smaller in comparison with the ordinary, large winter-houses, and some of the larger storehouses, /321/ similar to the former in construction, could easily be taken for living quarters. This explains the excessively large number of houses that is given by some travelers for individual Gilyak villages (1). On the other hand, if the

361 342 114 113 1. Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt /Journey around the World/, St. Petersburg, 1811, Vol. II, p. 162) counted 27 houses in one Gilyak (according to him, "tatarischen") village, which was located on the northern end of Sakhalin between the capes Elisabeth and Maria. For another village, on Nadeshda Bay, he gives 16 to 18 houses, but the description of it clearly permits one to recognize summer and winter dwellings the latter of which, moreover, stood empty (op. cit., pp. 178, 182, 183). Orlof, on the occasion of his first trip to the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk (in July, 1849), gave the number of houses in the village of Kulj as 46 (cf. Tikhmenev", Istor. Obozr. obraz. Ross.-

/321 cont./

361 342 •114 [113] 1. (cont.)
Amerik. Komp. /Historical Survey of the Formation of the Russian-American Company/, Part II, St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 64), many of which were certainly only storehouses.

summer and winter houses lie apart as two separate villages, the number of individual villages appears larger to the uninitiated traveler and in another way he again gets the impression of a larger population for the region than it actually has. Later on I shall return to the number of houses in the individual villages of the Gilyak, after we have first come to know in greater detail the construction and nature of their summer and winter dwellings.

342 132 It is chiefly climatic reasons that make it necessary for the Gilyak to build separate dwellings for winter and for summer. In winter it is important to be protected against the exceedingly severe cold, often accompanied by violent storms and snowfalls; in summer, on the other hand, to counteract the excessive humidity which is caused by the maritime location and the constant oceanic winds, fogs, and rains. The former requires rooms that are as tight as possible and enclosed by windproof walls, while the latter, on the contrary, can be achieved only by more open dwellings with a constant circulation of air. To combine both adequately in one structure seems to be beyond the strength and means of a primitive people. Let us now see how the Gilyak meet the challenge.

342 The winter houses of the Gilyak are of two types: a simpler one, peculiar and primitive -- the earth yurt, and a more complicated one copied from the Chinese design, which deserves the name of house rather than yurt (2), and which I shall call simply winter

192 113 342 2. The Russians originally designated the tent-like dwellings of the Siberian natives with this word (Russ.: yurta) of Finnish-Tataric origin (cf. Ahlqvist, Die Culturwörter der westfinnischen Sprachen /The Cultivated Words of the West

/329 cont./

342 some time in order to let out excessive steam or smoke. The
[352] draft and cold along the floor are all the more noticeable here
since the plank beds, on the contrary, are often quite warm.
[516] The Gilyak, to be sure, suffer little from them, since they usually
342 sit on the plank beds with their legs crossed under them. I became
122 convinced of how very hot and therefore uncomfortable
these can become, when in January, 1856, I attended the bear
136 festivals in Tebach for several days. In order to feed the numerous
●[114] guests, a strong fire was maintained uninterruptedly in both
hearths, and, as a consequence, the temperature of the plank beds rose so much that some stearin candles on hand in my leather suitcase which I kept next to me melted completely. The heatable sleeping benches, incidentally also have the great disadvantage that they greatly promote the increase of many kinds of vermin. Under them, in inaccessible, hidden spots, along the pipes, etc., countless rats (Mus decumanus) make their nests and emerge at night in search of food. Often, when everybody had gone to bed and I was still writing in my journals, I would see them come out from their hiding places and go about their business not far from me. They do not disdain even to crawl up the interior beams of the house; when I once, in order to escape other vermin, had a hammock put up there, the Gilyak warned me that the rats would gnaw through the leather straps and the mat would fall down. But the vermin against which I sought such protection is even more annoying: the warm benches are alive with fleas, which find refuge in the crevices of the coarse straw-mats. In summer, if one enters an empty Gilyak winter-house, he is literally covered with them in an instant. I even discovered that it is unwise to set up a tent in the vicinity of such a house, on the surrounding smooth and firm ground. Undoubtedly /330/ the principal reason why the Gilyak leave their winter houses when spring comes and move into differently constructed dwellings lies in this swarm of vermin, and in particular of fleas, as well as the impossibility of staying on the heated plank beds in summer.

/330 cont./

342 184 The question now arises as to which one of the two types of winter houses described above prevails among the Gilyak in the various parts of their territory. At the time of my stay in the Amur region (1854-1856) the earth yurt was almost exclusively confined to Sakhalin, but there it far predominated over the Chinese winter-yurts. The east coast of the island and the Tymy Valley had only the earth yurt (1). On the west coast of Sakhalin, as far as it borders on the northern part of the Sea of Japan, i.e., from Pilja-wo, the southernmost point of the Gilyak, to Poghobi, there were also only earth yurts (2). But from there northward, along the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk up to the northern tip of the island, there were villages consisting sometimes of earth yurts, sometimes of Chinese yurts, and at times both types of 114 342 184 361 winter dwellings occurred beside each other. I myself have not been in this part of Sakhalin, but have collected detailed information on the villages in it, as well as on the number and character of their yurts, from, among others, Gilyak residing there, who visited me at the Nikolayev post in the company of Tschcharbach-Gilyak friends of mine (3). A few years later

[113] 1. Mizul's /Mitsul'/ statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'sko-khoz. otnosh. /Agricultural Outline of Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 134).

[113] [114] 2. In 1861, Glehn ("Reiseber. von der Ins. Sachalin /Travel Report from the Island of Sachalin/." -- Beitr. zur Kenntn. d. Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 234) found in Poghobi a "large Manchurian" yurt (or two?), which, however, did not exist in my time, as I can definitely assert since in 1855 and 1856 I was at this place no less than four times.

361 342 184 115 114 /330 cont./

3. Specifically they were the Gilyak Jaftun and Pryngan from the village of Dshongi, and Tanskin from the village of Nganj-wo on the Liman.

114 342 184 36 161 A few years later (1861) Glehn traveled through a section of this coast and made a list of all the villages there, as well as the number and nature of their yurts (4). In comparing my data with his, though they essentially agree, they nevertheless show some differences which are almost entirely of such a kind as to lead one to conclude that there has been a decrease in the population in this part of Sakhalin during this interval of time. For instance, the number of villages in my list, especially the small ones with only one earth yurt, is larger than in Glehn's, in which the names also occur, but combined with other designations as referring to one and the same, no smaller settlement. Likewise, for the larger villages, my list almost throughout gives a larger number of yurts than Glehn's. 342 36 184 114 161 731 This depopulation which took place after my time is fully explained by the above-mentioned severe smallpox epidemic which ravaged precisely this part of the Amur region in the winter of 1857/58. As has been noted, many a yurt died out completely, and in the case of many small settlements which numbered no more than one, only the name survived, which could easily have been taken by later travelers as a synonymous designation for one of the adjacent villages. Where /331/ our reports differ with regard to the nature of the yurts -- whether earth yurts or Chinese yurts -- they always deal with villages which Glehn had not visited and concerning which he therefore could report only on the basis of statements by the natives. For this reason and because in the preceding and following observations I always view the Amur region as of the time of my stay there, I must describe the distribution of the earth yurts and the Chinese winter-yurts on Sakhalin in accordance with the data that I myself Collected.

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4. *Op. cit.*, pp. 232 ff.

/331 cont./

000 342 361 103 184 collected. Accordingly, at that time, to begin with, three villages, each consisting of a single earth yurt, still lay to the north of Poghobi. In Dshongi, coming from the south, one encountered the first Chinese winter-yurt, which, however, was in turn followed by four villages, each consisting of one earth yurt. To the north of Talvant-tigr-wo, which contained one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, beginning with Tulksj (1), there is a series of villages which consist only of houses of the latter type. This, as has been said, is the most populous part of Sakhalin, with the largest villages, among them Tamla-wo, in my time notorious for its predatory population, and, according to the Gilyak, numbering over 12 houses (2). The last of these *tschadryf* villages on Sakhalin, lying in an uninterrupted row, is ●[114] Pomyr-wo or Pomyt-wo on the Sea of Okhotsk. Glehn did not go northward beyond this village and gives only earth yurts for the remaining part of the west coast of Sakhalin up to the northern tip of the island. According to my information, however, the Chinese winter-yurt also predominates there, for after a small *toryf* village, Muisib-wo (in Glehn, Musjv), there follows Pilja-wo with one earth yurt and one Chinese yurt, which was formerly probably larger, and then there are two more *tschadryf* villages, Tumi-wo and Ngywr-wo (in Glehn, Ngyd), the latter of which is quite large (five yurts) and does not lie far from the northern tip of the island (the *Mif-ych*, as the Gilyak designated 114 361 342 it to me). According to its location on the small bay which Krusenstern called Nadeshda Bay, Ngywr-wo must be the same village that this navigator visited in 1805. From his quite detailed

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1. In Glehn it is called Jordĕnt-tigr-wo.

[192] 2. Glehn found only nine. The great number of houses and inhabitants of this village is indicated by its name, for *tamla*, *tamlatsch*, or *tamlantsch* means "numerous" in Gilyak.

/331 cont./

● 114 description one learns that the Gilyak ("Tataren") at the time --
361 it was August 15/27 -- lived in their summer yurts. Somewhat
342 apart, however, lay other, apparently better built houses, provided with fireplaces and chimneys, which, however, stood empty at the time (3) -- evidently the above-described winter houses of the Gilyak. Here, therefore, is other proof of the presence of tschadryf villages in this part of Sakhalin, too (4).

3. Krusenstern, Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 178, 182.

114 4. In order to supplement and verify my above
361 data and at the same time to make it possible
103 to compare them more precisely with Glehn's, I am adding here the whole list of the villages explored by me north of Poghobi on Sakhalin, with a statement of the number and nature of their yurts. To be sure, we did not always hear the names of the villages exactly the same, but
[731] it is not difficult to recognize them. I am also adding in parentheses the number of yurts given by Glehn, for from this one can judge the extent of the depopulation caused by the smallpox epidemic of 1857-1858, especially for the part of the coast extending south of Pomyr-wo, where Glehn himself visited most of the points and
114 counted their yurts. The following villages
361 lie north of Poghobi:

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Wismeryf . . .	with	1	earth yurt
Warsj	"	1 (1)	"
Ngyith	"	1 (4)	"
Dshongi	"	1	Chinese yurt
Loktschi	"	1 (1)	earth yurt
Jügdama	"	1 (1)	"
Pyrki	"	1 (1)	"

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● 114	4. (cont.)			
36	Tscheghngi	with	1 (1)	earth yurt
103	Talvant-tigr-wo . .	"	1 (1)	" and 1
342				Chinese yurt
	Tulksj	"	2 (3)	Chinese yurts
	Langri (summer village of Tulksj)			
	Matscho-wo . . .	"	2	"
	Mangal-wo	"	1 (1)	"
	Nganj-wo	"	4 (3)	"
	Tylent-tigr-wo . .	"	1 (2?)	"
	Matent-tigr-wo . .	"	3 (2)	"
	Tamla-wo	"	over 12 (9)	"
	Lyrkr-wo	"	4	"
	Wissk-wo	"	5 (5)	"
	Ngyl-wo	"	1 (1)	"
	Pomyr-wo	"	3 (3)	"
	Muisib-wo	"	1 (2)	earth yurt
	Pilja-wo	"	1 (1)	" and 1
				Chinese yurt
	Tumi-wo	"	2	Chinese yurts (1 earth y.)
	Ngywr-wo	"	5	" " (3 earth y.)

342 /332/ Among the Gilyak of the mainland the Chinese winter-
184 yurt predominates to a much greater extent than the earth yurt on
361 Sakhalin. Indeed, in my time there was only one earth yurt left,
which presumably has since disappeared: it was the small earth
yurt of Pättach, directly on the Liman just north of the mouth of
[114] the Amur. I visited it in March, 1856; it was located at some
distance from the Chinese winter-yurt of the same place and
was constructed exactly like the smaller earth-yurts on Sakhalin.
It can be maintained with some certainty that it was in fact the
only one of its kind on the mainland. Elsewhere along the Liman,
on the Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk, from the Liman to Kulj,
the largest village on that coast, numbering 10 (?) winter yurts,

A 175 345 /351 cont./
in more ancient times (1).

G 342 171 After this digression, which acquainted us with the earth
yurt in its various modifications as the original winter dwelling
of all the Paleo-Asiatic peoples as far as Greenland and the extreme northern part of America, let us again return to our point
G 342 177 [354] of departure, the Amur region and the Gilyak. While the earth
yurt, the *toryf*, is the original, national winter-dwelling of the
Gilyak, the *tschadryf*, erected on level ground and equipped
with pipe heating, must be designated as a later form of winter
dwelling brought to them from the outside, from contact with
G ● [114] other peoples, chiefly through Chinese influence. I have therefore called it above simply the Chinese winter-yurt. Glehn (2), Schmidt (3), Mizul (4), and others call it the "Manchurian yurt," but, if this is not merely another one of those frequent confusions of the Chinese in the Amur region with the Manchu, as was discussed above (5), as I believe it to be, then it can be argued that the Manchu borrowed this way of constructing their winter houses from the Chinese.

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1. Weniaminof, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

G (113) 2. "Reisebericht von der Insel Sachalin" (*Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russischen Reichs*, Vol. XXV, 1867, pp. 233 ff.).

G (113) 3. "Histor. Ber.," etc. -- *Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs*, Vol. XXV, p. 120.

4. *Ocherk" o. Sakhalina*, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 134.

5. See, p. 144, and note 2, in this work.

/353 cont./

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342 Shortly thereafter, however, in 1790, Ssarytschof reported /354/
175 from his journey through the country that there were no longer
177 any earth yurts anywhere and that instead of them Russian-style
houses (log houses, so-called isba) had been built everywhere;
G only the summer dwellings of the Kamchadal, which are like-
● 114 wise peculiar, had been retained (1). On the basis of a remark by
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Mamia Rinsó on his voyage in 1809 from Deren down the Amur, one might think at first glance that the same thing had happened among the Gilyak on the Amur. Coming from the territory of the S'janta (Olcha), when he entered the territory of the Smerenkur (Gilyak) at Horo (Chjare), he noticed that from there on people, dwellings, implements, and way of life changed and became exactly the same as on Krafto (Sakhalin) (2). One might think, therefore, that at that time the Gilyak on the Amur were still living in earth yurts as on Sakhalin. But this is impossible, for, as mentioned above (p. 466), four years earlier Krusenstern had found Chinese winter-yurts among the Gilyak on the northern tip of Sakhalin, that is, at the farthermost point, as far as these dwellings are found even today. If, in addition, one considers the fact that Mamia Rinsô was traveling in summer, there can be no doubt but that his above remark referred to the summer dwellings, which in fact, as we shall see in a moment, are quite different among the Gilyak on the Amur and on Sakhalin
K than among their neighbors, the Olcha, and the other Tungusic
342 Amur-peoples. Conditions in Kamchatka and in the lower Amur
177 region were too different to have produced an equally rapid
G [342] disappearance of national peculiarities in both places. In the
[177] former, the Russians, after conquering the region, settled
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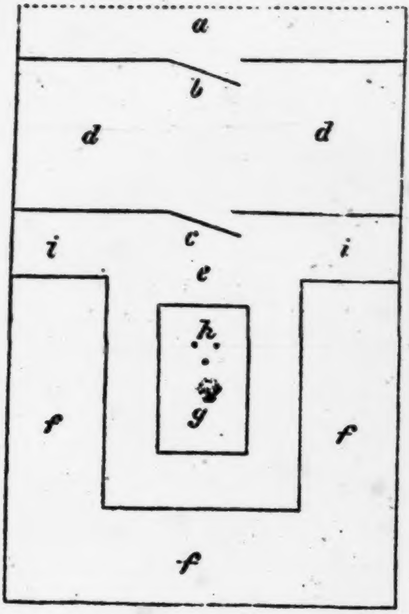
1. Sarychev", Putesh. po Sieverovost. chasti Sibiri, Pt. I, p. 179.

2. Siebold (Nippon, VII, p. 177). Cf. also p. 248 above.

/356 cont./

342 one might call a narrow balcony (1). On the accompanying plan of a Gilyak summer-house it is the space a bounded with a dotted line toward the front. The entrance to it (b) is precisely in the middle of the front side of the house, or, as in the illustration on [353] Plate XIII, somewhat to the side. Through this, however, one first enters a good-sized front space (d), which is used for the storage of various implements, as well as for storing supplies of fish and the like, and only behind it is the living room proper (e) found (2). This is exactly like the interior of the earth yurts,



a -- Sill or narrow balcony along the front side of the yurt. b, e -- Doors. d -- Anteroom for the storage of implements and supplies. e -- Actual living room. f -- Sleeping benches. g -- Hearth. h -- Stone triangle for the big kettle. i -- Corners for odds and ends.

Plan of a Gilyak Summer-Yurt (käryf).

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1. Krusenstern (op. cit.) calls it a gallery.

[114] 2. Krusenstern found this room locked and though that it was the room for the women, which fitted in with his general conception of a northern Sakhalin population consisting of "Tatars," which, however, does not at all correspond with reality.

/361 cont./

342 1. (cont.)
131 which projects farthest to the north, and
361 the mouth of the Amur (Beitr. zur Kenntn.
113 des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, St.
Petersburg, 1855, p. 618).

103 For the sake of clarity and because many of the individ-
361 ual villages of the Gilyak will be mentioned repeatedly in the
342 course of this work, I give the following tabular list of all the
● 114 Gilyak villages, in part from me, and mostly from personal
127 experience, and in part from Glehn's statements, and the num-
ber of their winter dwellings.

000 /The following chart, which runs across pp. 362-363 in the original text, is given on four pages in the translation, the first page bearing the four columns pertaining to the mainland, the second page bearing the four columns pertaining to Sakhalin, and the next two pages containing the final column of notes./

G 361 /363 cont./

1) Most of the small villages mentioned here could not be entered on the map because of the limited space.

2) Located on the lake of the same name, which is connected with the Amur (see above, p. 27).

3) Between this and the following village are the two above-mentioned (pp. 27, 51) Olcha villages, Tyr with two yurts and Tschilwi with six yurts.

G 361 162 4) This Olcha village located somewhat to the north of Kidsi which among its six houses has three permanently inhabited by Gilyak, has been mentioned above (p. 27).

G 361 5) With the single exception of the one earth yurt of Pättach mentioned above (p. 469).

6) According to handwritten information collected by Middendorff among the Gilyak on Ulban Bay and made available to me.

G ● [114] 7) The villages located along this coast of Sakhalin on the Liman and the Sea of Okhotsk, have already been enumerated above (p. 469) for a comparison of Glehn's information on them with the data collected by me, which do not entirely agree with his statements on the number and nature of the winter dwellings and in part on the names of the villages. It might therefore be excused if they are given again here for the sake of a general survey. G [161] [128] Since, however, the comparison shows some decrease in the population of this coast in the years 1857 to 1861, and the point here is to substantiate the conditions present in the Amur region at the time of my stay before that, only the data ascertained by me personally are considered in this list.

G [162] [128] 8) Since this village and Pilja-wo to the south with the same number of yurts have a population consisting half of Gilyak and half of Ainu, only three yurts are counted for both places in the summary.

9) The villages Pud-wo and Tschchar-wo lie on both banks of the river, with the indicated number of yurts.

G [114] 10) With this village Glehn begins the series of villages located along the west coast of Sakhalin, but he himself states that it lies at the northern point of the island, between Capes

/363 cont./

361 114 Elisabeth and Maria, and believes that it is the same village that Krusenstern saw on "North Bay." Since the latter, however, was a very large village ("with 27 houses," among which some were certainly only storehouses), larger than the one later visited by him on Nadeshda Bay (Krusenstern, op. cit., pp. 162 and 184), and this village, Ngywr-wo, still had five Chinese yurts in my time, it is inconceivable that only a few years later the village on North Bay should have been reduced to one small earth yurt, as Glehn thinks (op. cit., p. 232, note 1).

361 11) Presumably this is the same village that Glehn lists under the name of Takr-Nyi (i.e., Nyi on the other side), in contrast to the above village of the latter name, which he calls Tukr-Nyi (i.e., Nyi on this side). I must therefore apply the number of yurts given by Glehn for Takr-Nyi to this village of Tagri and the neighboring village to the north, Milk-wo, the first villages located to the south, or, proceeding from the north, on the other side of the Tymy mouth.

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30 /388 cont./
Chinese origin (1). To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use

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1. During my stay in the Amur region, among such decorations several little brass crosses with the inscription "Souvenir de mission" and a bronze medallion bearing the picture of the Savior with a Chinese (?) inscription were found on a woman's robe from the village of Wair or one of the nearby villages. In all probability these pieces came from the French missionary, de la Bruniêre, who in 1846, after he had spent the winter in Wair, was murdered and robbed by the Gilyak. His colleague Venault, who by order of the Apostolic Vicar of Manchuria made a journey in 1850 from Ashe-ho on the Sungari to the Gilyak on the Amur to investigate the crime, saw many of their children wearing such crosses and medallions (Nouv. Annales des Voyages, fifth series, Vol. XXX, 1852 [Vol. II], p. 218). To supplement the reports collected by Venault concerning the killing of de la Bruniêre, it should be noted here in passing that it took place, according to what I learned from the Gilyak, on the left bank of the Amur, between the villages of Wair and Ssabach, at the point where the rocks in a strange gate-like formation come close to the river. I visited it during my winter journey on March 29 (April 10), 1855. The already aged Gilyak in whose house I stayed in the village of Wair was named for me as one of the murderers. He evaded or declined to answer my questions concerning the details of the matter. Since, however, the Gilyak consider it bad luck (uftsch) to destroy a piece of paper with

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/388 cont./

175 648 797 •114 1. (cont.)
characters on it -- no matter whether written or printed -- I hoped that perhaps through him I would succeed in obtaining possible diaries or other written notes of de la Brunière. But despite the high monetary reward that I offered the Gilyak for them, only a few scraps of one of D'Anville's maps of China were brought to me by them after the lapse of some time, when I had already again returned to the Nikolayev post.

281 To make the fish-skin robes the Gilyak use
291 the most common species of salmon in the waters of the Amur
[136] region, *Salmo lagocephalus* (Gilyak *lyghi-tscho*, on Sakhalin
laghi-tscho). For this purpose the skins stripped from them have
the scales removed, which is done by pounding the soaked skins
in a wooden vessel; then, by scraping, they are cleaned of the
adhering muscle and fatty parts, flattened and smoothed, and the
individual pieces sewed together. A material varying in quality
is obtained, depending on how carefully these operations are performed. On the robes intended for everyday use or for protection
against rain, which are of a yellowish-gray color and usually
without any ornaments, the places where the scales were attached
to the individual skins can be clearly recognized (Pl. XVIII).[1]
The more elegant robes, on the other hand, look as though they
281 were made of a fine yellowish-white leather. This contrasts
291 especially sharply with the wide black edgings with which the body
53 of the robe in front, above and below, as well as the sleeves
at the shoulders and hands is provided with the above-mentioned
color by means of paint. Various kinds of embroidery is put on
in the intervening spaces, and the back in particular is distinguished
by pretty, intertwined arabesques embroidered with differently
colored threads, as they are shown on Plate XXIII, Figs. 2, 3 and
[301] 4. The above-mentioned metallic ornaments, too, are never
lacking on them.

[1] [See category 116, P. 998--Analyst)

531 /401 cont./
177 the Chinese, and reach their climax among the people farthest
191 from the latter, the Gilyak. I think that the reason for this is
531 not, say, in the natural disposition of the peoples concerned,
194 but in political conditions. The Gilyak were able to keep them-
648 selves independent of Manchu-Chinese domination and to prevent
direct visits and settlements of the latter in their territory (1).

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1. See p. 144 above.

[439] Since in this manner they escaped continuous exploitation by
the Manchu officials and the Chinese merchants, they could attain greater affluence than the Tungusic Amur peoples subject to the Manchu-Chinese, and, secure in their possessions, they must have found greater joy in them and along with this felt a desire and an incentive to concern themselves, beyond acquiring the mere necessities, with decorating and beautifying their clothing and other equipment, in which they were furthermore lent a helping hand by the trade with the Chinese, conducted on their part with innate cunning and circumspection.

294 Returning specifically to the clothing of the Gilyak, I must
412 mention a few tools customarily used among them for making it.
[439] For sewing and embroidering the Gilyak of today use only steel
needles, which, on the mainland, they obtain from the Chinese,
or, more recently, from the Russians, and on Sakhalin from the
294 Japanese (2). The container for storing the needles (Gil. nugsis,
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•[114] 2. Steller's statement that the Kamchadal obtained steel needles from the Japanese and the erroneous explanation of their designation for them linked with it are discussed above (pp. 407 ff.) in detail.

from nug, "the needle"; see Pl. XXIX, Fig. 2),[2] worn by the women at the belt, is peculiar. It consists of a bone tube through which a strap provided with two stoppers runs and into which the needles are stuck: whereas the lower stopper is tied fast to the strap, the upper one can be moved along it; if one lifts the

[2] [See Category 116, P. 1009--Analyst]

/401 cont./
294 latter and pushes it upward, the strap with the needles sticking in
415 it can be pulled out of the tube at the lower stopper. This in-
[412] genious construction of the needle box is also /402/ found among
415 the Eskimo: Dall saw it among the Innuit on Norton Sound (1).
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[177] And all the Tungusic neighbors of the Gilyak have borrowed it
from them, the Orok (2), the Olcha (3), and the Negda.

415 Middendorff saw it among the latter, and the illustration pro-
171 vided by him (4) shows exactly the same decorations on the bone
531 tube as our Gilyak specimens bear. But I cannot agree with his
[114] opinion that these figures approximate those prevailing on the
South Sea islands and are to be regarded as an offshoot of the
death's-head form popular there, which is associated with
cannibalism and the trophies of human skulls. Similar, quite
[789] crude and primitive representations of a human face by means of
a couple of circles with a dot in the center, a vertical line in
between, and a horizontal line under them, as eyes, nose, and
mouth, are not infrequently found on the implements of the Gilyak
and owe their origin, I believe, to the notion that by putting them

1. Dall, Alaska and its resources, Boston, 1870, p. 142, with woodcut.

2. Through Mr. Poljakof, our museum obtained several Orok specimens of this kind, which completely correspond to the Gilyak specimens.

3. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /Journey to the Amur/. Atl., Pl. 4, Fig. 9.

4. Reise in den äuss. Norden und Osten Sibiriens /A Journey in the Extreme Northern and Eastern Parts of Siberia/, Vol. IV, p. 1529.

/428 cont./

226 2. (cont.)
*262 europäisch-asiatischen Störarten /A Few
113 Words about the Sturgeon Species of Europe
and Asia/" (Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc.
de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIV, pp. 171 ff.

●114 On March 6/18, 1856, when, returning from
226 Sakhalin, I reached the village of Tschcharbach at the mouth of
*262 the Amur, the Gilyak there were near the end of their fish sup-
439 plies and impatiently awaited the thawing of the river, for then the
sturgeon would immediately collect in great numbers in order to
ascend the river. But farther up the Amur some are caught at
practically every season of the year and even throughout the
winter. In 1855 and 1856 the Gilyak supplied the Nikolayev post
so amply with sturgeon meat and caviar, especially from the
tukki-tscho which, it seems, is more common in the lower Amur,
that this was our principal and almost daily food in the winter,
/429/ and, despite its initial tastiness, we became very tired of it
in time. They especially liked to sell their caviar in particular,
226 since the Russians paid them a good price for it, whereas they
*262 themselves, although they likewise use it as food, do not prize it
[439] very much. The meat of sturgeon and hausen, however, which
[252] they always eat raw in the manner indicated above, is regarded
among them as one of the tastiest of foods. Enormous quantities
[796] of sturgeon and hausen are consumed especially during the bear
festivals, which take place in the winter. On such occasions I saw
whole rows of the mighty great animals lying on the floor of the
yurt decorated for the celebration, though they are not on the
menu of the actual feasts at the bear festival and are only eaten
in between them or on the days preceding or following the festival.
[231] Like the human beings, the dogs, too, get their share of these
[439] fish, in that a soup is cooked for them out of the discarded, less
desirable pieces and especially out of the gristly skeleton with the
meat clinging to it, but the gristle itself is fished out of the kettle
in order to be sold, cleaned and dried, to the Chinese.

184 /430 cont./ Moreover,
252 with regard to these and similar views, there are many local differences among the Gilyak. For instance, the Tro Gilyak did not
● 114 object if the kangi fish intended for me was roasted on the spit in front of the hearth fire, while those of Arkai interpreted this as uĭtsch and permissible without harm only at a fire burning in the open air.

226 As on Sakhalin, the kangi fish also occurs along the conti-
221 nental coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, near Kulj, Tăgl, Hisska (Petrofski Simowjo), etc. According to a statement by the Gilyak, it is absent in the Liman, and therefore, in order to catch it, the Tschomi Gilyak go every year to the west coast of Sakhalin along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, where in the winter of 1856 I met some of them. Presumably, however, this statement applies only to the southern, more closed-off part of the Liman, and not to the northern part, where at the broad outlet to the Sea of Okhotsk, the situation is quite similar to that in the latter.

*262 Next to fish, seals represent the principal foodstuff of the Gilyak, a foodstuff that is offered to them by Nature more or less abundantly at all the places in their habitation area, apart from certain localities farther from the sea, such as the Tymy Valley. For besides the seacoasts, along the Sea of Okhotsk, as well as along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, and the Liman, where this food source, of course, is supplied most abundantly, various species of seals, as I have set forth at another place (1), also come

1. See Vol. I, pp. 180 ff., of this work.

up the Amur through the entire Gilyak area and far into that of the Olcha. /431/ The Gilyak think the least of the seal meat itself
[114] as a food. Sperk is even of the opinion that they themselves do
[231] not even eat it, but only feed it to their dogs (1). This is indeed

[113] 1. Ed. Shperk", "Geografo-patolog. ocherki Vostochn. Sibiri /Geographical-pathological Sketches of Eastern Siberia/" (Mediko-

/431 cont./

*262 [113] 1. (cont.)
topograf. Sborn., St. Petersburg, 1870,
p. 13).

[114] [231] the main use that they make of it, but on the Liman I have seen them eat seal meat, and I also tasted it on this occasion. Like *262 252 the meat of all mammals, it is only eaten cooked, not raw, whereas the latter, as we have seen, is often and sometimes even preferably done with fish. On the other hand, the Gilyak have a general, superstitious aversion against the frying of fish or meat, a superstition I often had to fight during a stay in their yurts, for whenever a piece of meat was being fried for me, with the first sizzle of the butter or fat in the pan, the cry "*uĭtsch*, *uĭtsch*" (unlucky) could be heard from all sides and it was often difficult to [251] finish the cooking (2). As little as the Gilyak like seal meat, they

[171] 2. Steller (*op. cit.*, p. 323) also points out with regard to the Italmen and Koryak that they do not like frying, in contrast to the Tungus and Yakut.

nevertheless greatly relish seal fat or blubber, which they eat cut in slices, and, finally, most popular is the train oil obtained from it, which is in general use among them and is kept among their supplies in seal bladders and stomachs to be utilized, apart from its use to illuminate the yurts, sometimes in the preparation of many kinds of dishes and sometimes simply eaten with a spoon as fish oil along with *jukola* or enjoyed in other ways. It is by this ingredient, which becomes more general and more essential the closer one comes to the Amur-Liman and the seacoast, that the food of the Gilyak is principally distinguished from that of the other Amur peoples living farther upstream and inland.

*262 136 Besides seals, Nature offers the Gilyak another important and precious foodstuff to almost the same extent. It is the white whale, *Delphinapterus leucas* Pall. (Gilyak *pomi-tscho*), which, with the sole exception of the coast along the northern part of the

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*262 The use of the dog for food on the part of the Gilyak is of
231 a wholly different significance, not so much social as practical.
Understandably they must try to get the greatest possible use from
their sole domestic animal, which, moreover, they are obliged
to keep in large numbers as draft animals. This is attained
[237] inasmuch as even in case it becomes useless for transportation,
because of debility or injury, they utilize it by using its skin for
clothing and its meat for food. As a result of this triple usefulness,
the dog has the same significance for the Gilyak as the
reindeer has for the Tungus and other reindeer nomads. Moreover,
the Gilyak find great tastiness in dog meat, which is understandable
inasmuch as it, as a consequence of the almost exclusively fish
diet that the dogs have among them, must likewise taste strongly
like fish, and this can be nothing but most agreeable to the Gilyak
[123] [439] palate (1). For this reason the Gilyak were always willing to buy

● [114] [122] 1. I could not bring myself to taste even the dog meat that the Gilyak ate in my presence, but I know that the meat of an animal fed on fish acquires a strong fishy taste, from my experience with a little pig which Maximowicz and I bought from the Goldi on the Ussuri and which we soon, although long deprived of meat, gave up eating for
[113] the reason mentioned. As early as Strabo one finds the remark that in the land of the ichthyophagi (on the coast of present-day Baluchistan) the meat of cattle tasted like fish (Tyler /Tylor/, *Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Menschheit und die Entwickel. der Civilisation* /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, translated from the English by H. Müller, p. 269). It is known that in Kamchatka even the milk of cows, if they have been fed *jukola* for a time because of a shortage of hay, always gets a more or less strong fishy taste.

231 /434 cont./
*262 from me for a small consideration the dogs that had become useless
[123] on a trip. The Gilyak do not consume their dogs, however,
[439] without an urgent reason. Such a reason can appear readily
enough, however, if individual animals are injured or rendered
useless, or if there are too many of them and, correspondingly,
a shortage of food; in fact, even superstitious ideas can give rise
to it. Thus, I have seen it happen, for example, in the village
● [114] of Tyk on Sachalin, where I was delayed on account of severe
[782] snowstorms for several days in February, 1856, in the company of
[789] a few traveling Tschomi and Tymi Gilyak that, in order to calm
the bad weather, after other means had already been sought in
vain, three young dogs were strangled and consumed, which was
to be repeated on the next day in case of failure. The meat and
[252] the entrails of the animals were thrown into the kettle, a part being
added to the jukola soup for the dogs, and -- characteristically
enough -- I saw the woman occupied with these preparations bite
off a piece of the bloody entrails beforehand for herself and hand
another little packet of it to a child, who likewise seemed to enjoy
252 it very much. On another occasion, in the village of Duĭ, I
*262 was a witness to the entertainment of a large company of Gilyak
231 with dog meat. This happened only as a celebration subsequent
[114] to a bear festival held there a short time before, traces of which
were still to be seen in the exterior and interior decoration of the
yurt. The dogs, among them a couple of invalids furnished by
me, were killed in front of the yurt, skinned, disemboweled, the
meat and the bones cut up, and all the pieces belonging to one
animal wrapped in its pelt. /435/ Inside the yurt, the place between
the rear sleeping bench and the hearth, where the scaffold
with the bear's head had stood during the bear festival (1), was
marked off by two staffs, between which, on the floor, there was a
stick decorated with a bundle of thin, curly, crimped wood

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1. The details concerning this will be found in the pertinent section specifically devoted to this subject.

/435 cont./

231 252 *262 shavings, the so-called zach, whose significance will be discussed in the following. The bundles containing the meat and bones of the dogs were now brought into the yurt and arranged on the rear sleeping bench, whereupon the women went to kindle the fire under the kettles on the hearth in order to cook the meat and to make a broth out of the bones. These preparations, however, took so much time that the meal could not take place until late in the evening. Meanwhile the flames leaping on the hearth, the steam and smoke rising from the kettles, and the crowd of people, who not only occupied all the sleeping benches, but had also settled down on the floor of the small earth-yurt, soon made any further stay in it so unbearable that I found it necessary to leave before the actual meal and to seek another shelter for the night.

●114 171 231 *262 If one wished as a conjecture to grant for the northern peoples the discovery made in the south among various Negro tribes, namely, that the enjoyment of dog meat is generally the first step toward anthropophagy and accompanies it (2), he would look quite in vain for evidence of it among them. I have never come across anything among the so generally and markedly cynophagous Gilyak that would even distantly support such a conjecture. 171 231 *262 On the other hand, I believe it can be said as a general rule for these peoples with respect to the custom of eating dogs that it is common only in the case of those among them who keep the dog as the only domestic and draft animal, for only in this case can it be considered quantitatively as a food and morally nothing stands in the way of its use as such since the draft dog does not at all stand in the close, individual, and to a certain degree personal

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2. Schweinfurth, "Das Volk der Monbuttu in Central-Afrika /The Monbutto People in Central Africa/" (Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Berlin, Vol. V, 1873, p. 10). Peschel, Völkerkunde /Ethnology/, Leipzig, 1874, p. 168.

/437 cont./

231 Asiatic peoples, the Gilyak and Ainu, and must be regarded as a
*262 custom peculiar to them since ancient times. Merely the cir-
171 cumstance that it is absent among all the peoples living in the
● 114 Amur region farther upriver, towards the Ussuri and Sungari, makes
077 it certain that any possible influence from the Chinese, who, as is
well known, eat everything possible, including dogs, cats, rats,
and the like (1), is not remotely conceivable. On the other hand,

231 1. And, to be sure, in China dog meat is
*262 eaten not merely by lower people out of
171 lack of any other food, but generally, and
113 even at the best and most elegant tables.
Among the many older and more recent reports on this, only the following are to be referred to here: Neuhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Ind. Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländ. an den Tart. Cham /The Embassy of the East India Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of Tartary/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 275. Ysbrants Ides, Driejaar. Reize naar China /Three-Year Voyage to China/, Amsterdam, 1704, p. 103. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine /Description of the Chinese Empire/, Paris, 1735, Vol. II, p. 138. Bell d'Antermony, Voyage dans div. contrées de l'Asie /Journey in Various Countries of Asia/, translated from the English by M***, Paris, 1746, p. 343. Staunton, Des Graf. Macartney Gesandtsch. nach China /Diplomatic Mission of the Earl of Macartney to China/, translated from the English, Frankf. and Leipzig, 1798, Vol. II, p. 173. Davis, La Chine, etc., Vol. I, p. 312; Vol. II, p. 236. Iakinf", Kitai i pr. /China, etc./, St. Petersburg, 1840, pp. 262, 369, 377. Itier, Journ.

/442 cont./

*262 439 177 [554] matters are quite different with respect to those vegetable foods that the region itself does not produce and which the Gilyak can obtain only by trade with the adjacent civilized peoples, the Chinese, Japanese, and Russians. These foods, a few cereals and legumes, are, to be sure, much more nutritious but on the whole have less significance for them, and indeed to a certain extent may even be called luxury items because they are directly available only to those who are better off and not always to them, but rather are eaten only upon certain occasions. In daily life *262 439 177 796 they are used only rarely or hardly at all by the Gilyak. During the bear festivals, however, great quantities of them are consumed, and since these festivals are celebrated rather frequently and, in keeping with the communistic spirit of the Gilyak, are attended by numerous participants, the foods of this kind, stored up by an individual who becomes the host for the occasion, are always shared with a greater or lesser number of other and less prosperous Gilyak. On such occasions I have learned in detail the various foods of this kind that are customary among the Gilyak and the form in which they are eaten. As was said, there are not many of them. First come the cereals obtained from the Chinese. The most common and the most popular among the Gilyak is Chinese, or, as they always say, Manchurian millet, Setaria italica (Gilyak budá), and next Chinese barley (Gilyak mudi). Far rarer and less popular is Sorghum vulgare L. (Gilyak ssjussj) (2).

● [114] Japanese rice, on the other hand, is highly esteemed by the Gilyak, though it is only very rarely found among them. Judin, a very distinguished Gilyak, the host of a bear festival which I attended in the winter of 1856 in the village of Tebach, still had the remnants of a supply which he had acquired years ago from the Japanese (Sisam) on Sakhalin, but there was not enough to set before the numerous guests. As soon as the Russians settled in the

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[192] 2. The first two have the same designation among the Olcha; the latter is called ssjussu by them and by the Goldi.

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food, and especially fish food, on the whole, constitutes is and mainstay of the existence of the Gilyak.

noteworthy circumstance in connection with the diet of yak must still be considered here. It is the fact that they use any salt at all with their food and, indeed, even have n aversion to it. I am taking the liberty of repeating here wrote several years ago in a letter to Dr. Gustav Bunge (1),

1. At that time a docent in Dorpat, now a professor in Basel.

as also been published by him (2). Despite my long stay

2. In his article "Ethnologischer Nachtrag zur Abhandlung über die Bedeutung des Kochsalzes und das Verhalten der Kalisalze im menschlichen Organismus /Ethnological Supplement to the Discussion on the Significance of Cooking Salt and the Effect of Potassium Salts on the Human Organism/" (Zeitschrift für Biologie, Vol. X, Munich, 1874, p. 115).

he Gilyak and many an observation of their food and the ion of dishes, I never saw them add salt to any dish or eat other way. I was never asked for any by them and do not 44/ that they ever asked for it in Nikolayevsk, where it . The following experience gave me further evidence of e it is required by them: since toward the end of my n the winter of 1856 my salt was exhausted, I asked for some Gilyak village that I passed through on the west coast of and along the Amur-Liman, but always in vain, until on the mouth of the Amur, a hazelnut-sized lump of salt in a dirty rag, which its owner had once happened to get kept as a worthless curiosity, was finally brought to me. yak repeatedly expressed their repugnance for it when they eat salt. From the numerous similar reports on the use or of salt by various peoples Dr. Bunge draws the conclusion,

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● 114 certainly a wholly correct one, "that all those peoples who live
263 almost exclusively on animal food -- hunters, fishermen, nomads
171 (and the Gilyak belong among them) -- either are not familiar
with salt, or, if they are familiar with it, detest it, whereas
peoples nourishing themselves predominantly on vegetable foods
have an irresistible desire for it and regard it as an indispensable
food" -- an attitude that on the basis of his excellent explanations
from the chemico-physiological point of view has been fully
263 confirmed (1). With respect to the Gilyak, however, I find myself
induced by the above-mentioned explanations by Dr. Bunge to
make a few remarks concerning the use, or rather the non-use,
263 of salt among them. The bear festivals are the only occasions
796 at which the Gilyak, as is to be seen from the above statements,
114 eat plant food, and, to be sure, cereals and legumes, in large
262 quantities. Is it therefore not surprising that at that time the
Gilyak distaste for salt not only does not disappear, but, quite the
contrary, is especially noticeable, for during a bear festival it is
regarded as uitsch (unlucky) merely to add salt to the dishes? Yet,
this does not seem to me to contradict Dr. Bunge's final conclusion and its chemico-physiological proof. For, first of all, the bear festivals take place for only a short time here or there, which does not alter the very predominantly animal character of the Gilyak diet on the whole; secondly, the amount of plant food eaten at them is considerable only in case the host is a very prosperous man who trades with Chinese, Russians, or Japanese, and otherwise, and in general, it is likely to fall behind the amount of animal food, especially bear meat and fat; thirdly, and finally, the bear festivals are an ancient national custom permeated, as we shall see, with a number of deep-rooted superstitions for the Gilyak, among whom any innovation would meet especially stubborn resistance.

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[113] 1. Cf. also his Lehrbuch der physiolog. und patholog. Chemie /Textbook of Physiological and Pathological Chemistry/ Leipzig, 1887, pp. 109 ff.

/447 cont./
322 yi-dshakko already mentioned, several knives of special shape.
412 Thus, to hollow out wood, a knife with a fluted, bent blade of
various sizes, the us(i)r-wossj of the Gilyak (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 4),[2]
is used; for finer carving, the kydr-dshakko, a knife with a very
412 narrow and pointed blade (ibid., Fig. 3), etc. Finally, among
177 the table utensils of the Gilyak the chopsticks (Gilyak tschawkr) (1)
copied from the Chinese must be mentioned, a specimen of which, from the village of Wassj, is shown on Plate XXXIII, Fig. 6. These owe their origin among the Gilyak more to the imitative instinct, which readily makes itself felt in particular with regard to anything Chinese, than to a real need, because they are practically never found in use among them.

415 As one sees from the above, all the household and table
323 equipment made by the Gilyak themselves is exclusively of wood
439 or birch bark. Earthenware is not found among them at all; they
[322] neither make any themselves nor is there used among them, in
spite of their contacts with the Chinese and Japanese, the porcelain
made by these peoples, for at most a single piece of it, usually
one or several of the small porcelain bowls used by the Chinese
for drinking brandy, is kept here and there by a well-to-do Gilyak
as an article of value or as an oddity. The fact that pottery, even
323 in its beginnings, is completely foreign to the Gilyak, despite
●114 their being exceedingly skilled in other things, for example, in
woodworking and, as we shall see later, at the smith's trade,
certainly merits full consideration, and I am therefore permitting
myself a few remarks about it. In order first to put the fact itself
still further beyond doubt, I must expressly emphasize that despite
my long and various stays among them I never saw a piece of
pottery of any kind in their households nor did I even hear of any
from others. Hence, some entirely different statements in Mamia
Rinsô's report on his travels on Sakhalin (Krafto) and in the Amur
region were all the more striking to me. He found that the earthen-
[171] ware and porcelain of the Gilyak (Smerenkur) on Sakhalin was

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[192] 1. Presumably borrowed from the Manchurian tschabcha. Among the Olcha: alako.

/447 cont./

323 similar in shape to that of the Chinese and Japanese (2). /448/
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323 One might suppose that the traveler was concerned with, not
114 originally Gilyak, but only with imported Chinese and Japanese
171 pottery which he saw among the Gilyak, but this would still not
174 remove the contradiction with my above statements, because
Mamia Rinso goes on to say that there were especially many porcelain factories along the Amur (Mankô) near Kidsi (1). This, however, no longer refers to the Gilyak, whose territory does not begin until somewhat below Kidsi, but even among the Olcha, to whom it must refer, and still farther upstream among the Goldi, at least as far as the Ussuri, I never saw such factories or any of their products. And Maack had the same experience, except that in the Goldi village of Ssilbi he saw some earthenware pots among the household utensils of the natives (2). This village, however, is in the vicinity of the Sungari, where, as we shall presently see, totally different conditions prevail in this respect. If, therefore, one is to believe Mamia Rinsô's reports, and, according to my experience, they fully merit it, one is forced to assume that the Olcha, and presumably also the lower Goldi, at the beginning of this century were making pottery and porcelain and sold the products even among the Gilyak as far as Sakhalin, and that the latter were likewise familiar with this industry -- an industry which had been completely lost fifty years later when I explored
323 the Amur region. How this happened will be illuminated as
174 much as possible in one of the following chapters in the discussion
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[113] 2. Mamia Rinsô, "Tôtats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 194).

1. Op. cit., p. 172.

[113] 2. Maak", Putesh. na Amur" /A Journey to the Amur/, p. 143.

/503 cont./

396 which is done by raising it on a pair of rather high trestles and lighting the brushwood spread under it.

[192] The oars (Gilyak ywnj) are provided with a broad, rounded blade tapering off to a point and with a hole at a thicker place on the handle for setting them on the oar-pins (Pl. XXXVIII
501 /see p.1018/, Fig. 2) (1). The Gilyak boat does not have fixed rowing benches resting on the side walls of the boat, /504/ for they would tear the side boards from the bottom board by their pressure. Instead, the Gilyak use small removable stools which rest only on the bottom board, without touching the side boards. For the same reason, in loading a boat, it is carefully seen to that the entire load rests on the bottom board and does not exert any pressure on the side boards. To this end several pieces of wood considerably shorter than the width of the bottom board are first placed across it, and upon these several boards which are to bear the load are spread the length of the boat -- a precaution which also serves to prevent the objects transported from getting wet in the bottom of the boat. From
114
501 personal experience I realized how necessary it is to treat a Gilyak boat with such care and precaution. In the spring of 1855, when I was about to start on my first summer trip up the Amur and Ussuri, I bought from the Gilyak two boats which apparently had been used very little. Still unfamiliar with their construction, I thought it best if I first had them inspected and put in order in the harbor of Nikolayevsk. One of the naval officers saw to it that they were calked like regular sloops by one of the best experts of the harbor and were equipped with rowing benches and a bench for the erection of a mast. But when I wanted to go aboard and the boats were put in the water, both of them

[114] 1. This illustration has a fundamental error, so that one should visualize the direction in which the oar handle is bored as shifted by an angle of 90°, that is, not perpendicular to the blade, but in the same plane.

/504 cont./

114 proved to be leaking, and all the efforts of the workers to re-
501 pair them were in vain. I now saw that through the rough and incorrect handling the side boards were more or less torn off and detached from the bottom board along their entire length; no amount of hammering, plugging, and calking the seams would help any longer -- one of the boats had to be given up altogether, and I reached the nearest Gilyak village in the other only with great effort and constant, strenuous bailing. There, in Ssabach, I bought a new, somewhat larger boat, which I treated from then on in accordance with its construction and entrusted it only to Gilyak hands for repairs when needed. And it served me very well, for in the same year I not only went up the Amur and Ussuri and back again to Nikolayevsk in it, but, in the following year, also up the entire Amur and a large part of the Argunj /Argun/ until I was forced by the drifting ice and the cold to abandon it near the village of Mulatscha on the Argunj.

501 Entirely different from the oars, the Gilyak steering oar
[192] (Gilyak menj) is provided with an elongated narrow blade and at the upper end with a short transverse handle (ibid., Fig. 3). As a rule, the Gilyak steer the boat by hand. In order to give the helm more support in high waves or a strong current, however, a short loop of cord or an upright semicircular strip through which the steering oar can be stuck is found at the rear edge of the board on which the helmsman sits.

The Gilyak boat does not have a mast. Instead of this,
[192] the Gilyak, if they want to sail, which rarely happens, use
two poles tied crosswise (Gilyak kyrsh), which are stuck by
their lower ends into corresponding /505/ holes in the side boards
of the boat, while two long lines running from the upper ends
[192] are slung around the hindmost crosspiece in the boat. The sail
(Gilyak tulatsch) consists of a square piece sewed together out of fish skins, which is attached by corners to the upper ends of the above-mentioned cross-mast, but at each of the lower ones is provided with a sheet to haul in and to stretch or loosen the sail as desired. With such inadequate equipment it is understandable that the Gilyak are no masters or heroes at sailing.

/505 cont./

501 and in any brisk or gusty wind using the sail is cautiously
avoided. I also observed that the Gilyak, and likewise the
● [114] Olcha and Goldi, who accompanied me as guides or oarsmen
[157] in my boat always became mortally afraid when sailing in a
brisk wind; in spite of the fact that my boat had a mast (1) and a regular sail, they usually sat there deathly pale and implored me to pull in the sail and to go ashore as soon as possible. There is no doubt, to be sure, that a boat without a keel, when it is heavily loaded, can easily draw water and even capsize with high waves and an unskilled steersman. In order to prevent the boat from drawing water at the side, the edge is sometimes raised on either side by a board attached to
[192] the side wall. The Gilyak equip their boats with such sham-
[484] edges (Gilyak ardsch) in particular when they undertake sea
voyages, for instance, along the coast of Sakhalin to the Japanese, etc.

Of great usefulness on the Gilyak boat is the continuation of the bottom board extending under the prow, because it not only protects the latter from the immediate impact of the waves and possibly also from a severe impact on steep rocks along the shore, with another boat, etc., but it also permits the boat to glide over the waves more easily. Since the oars sit on fixed prongs, very little effort is required to propel a Gilyak boat if it is not moving against a strong current or high waves. It is not very well adapted to battle against them, however, and demands skilled and powerful handling of
[114] the rudder. More than once it has happened to me in traveling
around rocks and capes protruding into the Amur River that the boat, seized by the strong countercurrent, suddenly turned around and was irresistibly driven back. Undoubtedly the

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1. Needless to say, after my above-mentioned experiences with the Gilyak boat, I had adequate mast bearers put on the bottom board.

/517 cont./

226 spongy that it is dangerous to step on it, or is covered with
water -- this ushers in the most meager and difficult period for
the river-dwellers, since human beings and dogs live on only
the scanty remains of the winter supplies. Moreover, all communication
between the villages on the Amur ceases at this
time. The Gilyak therefore waits impatiently for the opening
of the river, when it becomes lively anew and fishing and
traffic on it are again possible. The opening up of the Amur
River is therefore always a joyful and important event in the
lives of the Gilyak and is appropriately hailed by them. As
796 soon as the river is entirely free of ice, a boat manned by as
226 many oarsmen as possible sets out from every village of any size
782 in order to offer it, on a swift journey and amid loud shouts of
● 114 joy, the customary sacrifices, that is, to toss pieces of jukola,
berries, millet, tobacco, and the like into the water. On
May 14/26, 1856, shortly after beginning my upstream return
trip from Nikolayevsk, I had the good fortune to meet, between
the villages of Wair and Magho, such a boat on its sacrificial
voyage (see Pl. XXXIX /see p.1009/). It was a long boat with
[501] one steersman and 13 oarsmen. The latter, each with two oars,
sat in a row up to the prow of the boat. Above them rose three
light racks, each consisting of two upright rods connected at
the top by a crosspiece. The oarsmen rowed in perfect time
and with full force, and the steersman for his part helped at
each stroke of the oars with a powerful stroke of the steering-oar.
Thus, amid the wild shrieks of its occupants, the boat shot past
us like an arrow. It is therefore not impossible that some of its
equipment escaped me. For instance, I saw nothing hanging
down from its racks, and yet they must have the purpose of
carrying something, even though, in view of their very weak
nature, it could only be quite light objects. And so this
[192] automatically leads me to the conjecture that they are intended
[194] to carry the so-called zach, i.e., long, thin, curled wood-shavings,
such as are customary in connection with all the
events in Gilyak life that are bound up with superstitious ideas,
the bear festivals, funeral ceremonies, and the like (1).

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1. See p. 662 ff. above.

Gi /524 cont./

226 not appear in larger numbers in de Castries Bay until fall, that is, toward the end of August at the earliest and during September.

G 226 114 221 184 484 Farther to the north, in the Amur-Liman, I was told by the Tschomi Gilyak, unfortunately without any reference to dates, that both species, the tengi-tscho and the lyghi-tscho, were to be found among them, but the latter in numbers insufficient for their needs, so that, as has already been mentioned (4), when this fish migrates, they, like the Gilyak from

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4. See p. 647 ff. above.

Tangi, Arkai, and other places along the west coast of Sakhalin, set out for the Tymy River on Sakhalin in order to provide themselves with larger quantities of winter supplies there.

G 114 226 Some data for the southern coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, to the northwest of the Amur-Liman, are found in Middendorff. In the list given by him for the dates of the migrations of various fish and especially of the species of salmon at the mouths of the rivers of Siberia and northwestern America, June 22 is given as the arrival time of S. proteus at the mouth of the Udj, and July 9 as that for S. lagocephalus along the same coast (5).

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5. Middendorff, Reise, Vol. IV, pp. 1226 and 1227. The statement contained in the same work (p. 1192, note 2), but not in the above-mentioned list and standing in contradiction to the data in it, that S. lagocephalus arrives at the mouths of the Ala and Uda (that is, Udj) fairly regularly about June 10, and 7-10 days later also at the mouth of the Tugur, does not seem trustworthy to me and, incidentally, is given with the reservation, "as is said." It is regrettable, as I must note here in passing, that the explanation of the abbreviations which are used for the sources

/524 cont./

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5. (cont.)
utilized for the above-mentioned list of the migration dates of the fish (op. cit., p. 1228) is limited to only a part of them and many remain completely incomprehensible.

Moreover, /525/ the statement that S. lagocephalus does not seem to occur in the waters of Great Schantar Island, whereas S. proteus is caught there (1), is of interest for our purposes.

1. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1261

226 Finally, so far as the mouth of the Amur is concerned, S. proteus enters it as early as May, soon after the ice goes. But it appears then only in small numbers, only as the vanguard, so to speak, of a second, large migration which takes place in June. During the latter month it is eagerly caught by the Gilyak for use in the preparation of supplies of jukola and also goes up the first major Amur tributary, the Amgunj /Amgun/, where it, together with S. lagocephalus, is the mainstay of the economy of the Negda (2). In July, finally, some stragglers appear around the mouth of the Amur, but they are scarcely worth mentioning. It would therefore be an exaggeration to speak of three migration periods for S. proteus into the Amur; it is more correct to assume an initial weak migration in May and a second strong or principal migration in June. Salmo lagocephalus does not appear in the Amur mouth until August and, in fact, except for a few forerunners, its actual great ascent into the river in shoals begins around the middle of August, reaches its peak toward the end of this month and the beginning of September, and then lasts with waning energy, all through this latter month and continues into October, until

2. Middendorff, op. cit., p. 1524.

/525 cont./

226 the ice cover forms. Middendorff's migration date for *S.*
226 *lagocephalus* into the Amur (end of August) known to him
•114 through the work of Przewalski (3) -- who, however, had not been at the mouth of the Amur himself -- did not seem to agree with that for the same species along the south coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (4). But for this he had in mind only the statement, questioned by me and, one can almost say with certainty, erroneous, concerning the migration date of *S. lagocephalus* at the mouth of the Udj, which has been discussed above (p. 816, note 5), The subsequent entry of *S. lagocephalus* into the Amur, much later than Middendorff presumed (5), explains quite simply and naturally the fact stated by him (6) that the *keta* salmon going up the Tugur arrive much earlier than those going up the Amur and Amgunj at the point where the Tugur and the Amur systems come close together as a result of a bend in the river beds of the Tugur and Nemilen, so that the Tungus have plenty of time to do their fishing at the Tugur bend (near Burukan) and then to move over to the nearby Nemilen to fish anew for *keta* salmon there.

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3. *Puteshestv. v" Ussuriisk. kraie* /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, p. 97.

4. Middendorff, *op. cit.*, p. 1201.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 1220, where it is said that the *keta* salmon goes up into the Amur at least at the same time as into the Tugur (June 17-20), and probably even earlier.

6. *Op. cit.*, pp. 1220 and 1485.

/525 cont./

226 [114] The dates given here for the migrations of *S. proteus* and *S. lagocephalus* at the mouth of the Amur agree very well with the dates given above for various points of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, especially if one keeps in mind, as is required on the basis of the available data, the multiple, intermittent, more or less large migrations or ascents of one and /526/ the same species. If one also takes into account the greater or smaller numbers in which they appear at the points mentioned above, one comes to the conclusion that *S. proteus* and *S. lagocephalus*, moving northward from the northern part of the Sea of Japan reach the Amur-Liman and the mouth of the Amur River, in the course of which the former, especially toward the end of its migration period, enters all the bays and inlets, and even the smallest rivers of both coasts, in great quantities, whereas the latter visits only the larger and major ones among them, but avoids the smaller ones, and in the main, moving against the current coming from the Liman and strongly mixed with fresh water, strives for the mighty Amur in order to go far up into its extensive network and in particular into the large tributaries of its lower course. In the following, while discussing the fishing of the other peoples of the Amur region living upstream from the Gilyak, we shall repeatedly encounter it on its migration. First, however, we must remain for a moment with the appearance of *S. proteus* and *S. lagocephalus* in the Gilyak area.

226 192 805 The arrival and the mass migration of these two fish especially important for the economy of the Gilyak are, of course, phenomena of such extraordinary significance for them that they are used by them to designate the periods of the year, the months, in which they occur. For instance, May is known among them as the month in which the *tengi-tscho* (*S. proteus*) first comes upstream, *walten-tengi-long*, and June, in which its mass migration takes place, *tengi-wota-long* (1). August

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1. *Long* in Gilyak means "month"; I am unable to offer a detailed explanation of the expressions "*walten*" and "*wota*," but

/531 cont./

226 stuck in the snow behind him and leaned against a sled turned sidewise served as protection from the wind. There were several other fishermen sitting on the ice in this manner at some distance from one another. As soon as a considerable quantity of fish had been caught, they were carried away on the sled. It is bound to be surprising that the Gilyak do not use a more appropriate method for catching this fish: even a simple net would undoubtedly be far more successful. It seems, however, that the many superstitions associated with the kangi fish, as mentioned above, among them, for example, the one that they may not be put in a bag, makes them persist in the ancient and traditional way of catching them.

286 283 (824) In conclusion, it remains for me to say a few words about the making of fish nets by the Gilyak. The material for them is provided by a nettle, Urtica dioica L. (Gilyak chisk, Olcha and Goldi pikta), growing luxuriantly, along with artemisia as tall as a man and other plants common to rubbish heaps, around their dwellings on soil fertilized by refuse of all sorts. Their stems are cut in the fall and soaked in water; in winter they are dried and tied into bundles, and the preparation of thread and twine begins early in the spring, as does the plaiting and repairing of the nets, for which there is a great need in summer. (462) The first part of this work, the preliminary readying of the nettle stems and the preparation of the thread, falls to the women; the twisting of the /532/ string, however, and the knotting of the nets are, ●(114) as a rule, done by the men. On April 18/30, 1855, I witnessed the preparation of the thread in the village of Kuik. With the help of a smooth, wooden knife /Falzmesser/ pointed at the end, called chukka in Gilyak, the dried stems are pressed flat, split lengthwise, and broken on one place, whereupon the skin is stripped off and stroked until it is completely reduced to fibers and all the woody parts removed. With the help of hand-spindles this fiber is spun into a fine thread, part of which is allotted to the women themselves for their sewing work, but the other and larger portion is used for making cord of varying thickness (Gilyak puksɪ) for the nets. Mr. Maximowicz had an opportunity to watch

286 283 /532 cont./

this work and describes it as follows (1). "The thread intended for the cord is wound on as many spindles as the cord is to have strands; the spindles are set up firmly on the yurt bench, a piece of thread is led from each of them, through a ring fastened in a roof beam, and almost down to the ground, and the rest of the thread is protected against unwinding. The threads running through the ring are tied to a suspended spindle, which is kept in rotating motion until the cord is firmly twisted together sufficiently, and, as a consequence of this, the rotating spindle has been forced almost up to the ceiling. The firmly twisted piece of cord is now wound on the suspended spindle and protected against unwinding. Then new thread is released from the stationary spindles, the rest is made fast, and the work continues in the same way." The cords obtained in this manner are in no way inferior in tightness and uniformity to good types of our hemp cords.

286 [227] In view of the considerable variation in size of just the principal fish that the Gilyak catch, say, from the smaller cyprinoids or the tengi-tscho, Salmo proteus, to the colossal hausen, the nets used for catching them are also made with meshes varying greatly in size and out of cord of various thicknesses. And, correspondingly, the instruments used by the Gilyak for knotting their nets are of widely varying sizes, while

[113] [114] 1. Bullet. de la Classe phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. XV, p. 230, note 5; Mél. biolog., Vol. II, p. 501, note 5. The observations were made by Mr. Maximowicz on a voyage in the lower Amur region between the Nikolayev and Mariinski posts; to be sure, it is not said whether he was among the Gilyak or among the Olcha, but it may be safely assumed that the work discussed is done in precisely the same way among both of these peoples.

/551 cont./

224 2. (cont.)
tree-trunk, but always runs over it lengthways.

/552/ in the small side valleys of the upper Tymy River on Sakhalin I repeatedly came across either sable traps of this kind still set up or traces of them remaining on the trees. To the [192] chagrin of the Gilyak, however, other small and more or less worthless animals often get caught in the ha instead of sables, such as squirrels (Gilyak lakr and lakrs, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin lafkor), ermine (Gilyak tymr and tymrsch, in the interior and along the east coast of Sakhalin tchymr), and on the mainland especially frequently the Mustela sibirica (Gilyak zongrsk), which is so much like the sable in its way of life and is absent on Sakhalin, and, indeed, in the village of Warki on the Liman, the Gilyak even brought me a jay (Garrulus glandarius) which had been found in a ha and bore the [171] marks of the pinching on its neck. This sable trap of the Gilyak, by the way, is not at all original, since, apart from the Amur Tungus, it recurs with the same or quite similar construction among a number of Siberian peoples, for example, among the sedentary Koryak on Penshinsker /Penzhina/ Bay, in the northern Kamchatka (1), among the Russian Tungus in the Stanovoi

[113] 1. Kennan, Tent-Life in Siberia, London, 1871, p. 108.

Mountains (2), and others, and in general rests on the same

[113] 2. Sievers, "Briefe aus Sibirien /Letters from Siberia/," (Pallas, Neue Nord. Beytr. Vol. VII, p. 212).

principle that the traps used for catching polar fox, hares, etc. throughout the polar north of Siberia are based on (3).

[114] 3. A detailed description and an illustration of this last trap is to be found, among

/552 cont./

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[114] 3. (cont.)
others, in Middendorff (Sibir. Reise
/Siberian Journey/, Vol. IV, p. 1387).

The same can be said of a second device used among the
Gilyak for catching sable, a clamp-trap /Klemmfalle/ con-
[171] structed with a bow. This trap, distributed throughout Siberia,
has already been described and illustrated many times by travelers
(4), and I could therefore pass over it quickly if it did not seem
to me of interest to point out, besides its in part peculiar use
among the Gilyak, the designations customary among them for
its individual components in comparison with those, in part
identical, for another apparatus to be discussed immediately
below, which can be done much more briefly and clearly with
224 the help of illustrations. Among the Gilyak the clamp-trap in
192 question, shown on Plate XLIII /see p.1023/, Fig. 4, bears the
name klai and is made as follows: a simple wooden bow (Gilyak
puntsch, a of the illustration) is set into appropriate lateral notches
in two sticks (Gilyak assj, b of the illustration) put together in the
form of a fork and joined at the top. Above the crossboard (d,
Gilyak lyms) connecting them at some distance from their lower,
pointed ends, they are provided with longitudinal cutouts, into
which the lower part, consisting of another such crossboard, of
the wooden piece c, connected at the top with the bowstring,
is stuck and can move up and down depending on the tautness of
the bow. Curiously enough, the wooden piece c is simply called
ku, that is "arrow," by the Gilyak -- a striking /553/ general-
ization such as is not often found among them otherwise, and,
correspondingly, an upper crosspiece (e) connecting the two side
staffs with each other and provided with a cutout for the move-
ments of the ku is called kurscho(gr)tsch (1). A small stick (f,

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4. Recently, for instance, by Bush
(Reindeer, dogs and Snowshoes, London,
1872, p. 316) and by Middendorff
(Sibir. Reise, Vol. IV, p. 1388).

[104] 1. The letters in parentheses are only

/562 cont./
224 as a rule when an old she-bear with its one or two-year-old cubs
is found in the lair. In this case, the all too dangerous battle
to capture the old animal is usually not even undertaken, but
rather it is enough to stab it at once, and only the cubs are
[262] fettered and led into captivity. The bears killed in the wilder-
ness in this or some other way are, to be sure, likewise eaten
by the Gilyak, /563/ but, as far as I know, without special
festivities, and this is not merely because the processions, so
very essential in this connection, which are conducted with the
imprisoned bears, must naturally be omitted, but rather perhaps
also because the slain bear does not by far have the tastiness for
a Gilyak palate and does not have the thick layer of fat of the
animal kept imprisoned for some length of time and fattened on
224 a fish diet. Along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk Middendorff (1)
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learned of another method of the Gilyak for capturing bears alive, which, however, could scarcely occur in the Amur region and on Sakhalin, with different natural conditions. It consists in putting, at places where deeply cut game-trails lead down from the heights of the steep coast to the sea and between two trees standing close to each other, on the latter large strap-nooses, in which the bear, since it does not find another path either to the right or left, must inevitably be caught. I do not know of any such localities in the Amur region, and, accordingly, I have never heard of such a method of catching bears there.

224 Many superstitious beliefs and customs are certainly asso-
78 ciated with the hunting of bears among the Gilyak, and their ob-
825 servance is considered necessary in order to undergo the dangers
of the fight with it successfully and to master the mighty animal
unharmed, but to be able to escape the revenge of its manes in
224 case of its death. But I cannot agree at all with the statement by
114 Nordmann that "lovely songs" are first delivered by a few shamans
756 to the bear tracked down in its lair, which are supposed to induce
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1. *Reise*, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1381.

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114 /563 cont./
756 it to come out from its hiding place (2). For the shamans among
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[113]

2. Arth. Nordmann, "Ueber den Fischfang und die Jagd der am Amur wohnenden Giljaken /On the Fishing and Hunting of the Gilyak Living on the Amur/ (Bull. de la Soc. Imp. des Natur. de Moscou, 1861, Vol. XXXIV, Sec. Part, p. 251).

the Gilyak, quite apart from the character ascribed here to their songs, which in reality never at any time belonged to them, have nothing whatever to do with hunting, either for bears or for other animals. They never interfere with the pursuits of the practical life, fishing, hunting, trading, of this superstitious, to be sure, but vigorous and enterprising people, and, on the contrary, as we shall see in the following, practice their arts
224 on entirely different occasions. The Gilyak, by the way, do
825 not regard the capture of a bear as an offense perpetrated against it, because through this it is introduced to a life with abundant food, a good home, and many marks of respect. The spirits of revenge can be aroused only by its death and
[796] being eaten, and therefore the bear festivals, leading to this outcome, are surrounded by a number of rules of behavior dictated by superstition, whose observance is supposed to ward off misfortune. The other animals are given less consideration,
[777] but even with regard to them there are many rules that are not to be neglected without causing future mishaps in connection with the hunting concerned, and, along with this, depending on the kind of animal involved, more or less grievous injury to the
224 profits. /564/ For example, I by accident came across the fol-
825 lowing superstition concerning the hunting of sables. When I
123 entered the yurt of Miwwach on the lower Tymy on Sakhalin, I
777 saw a sable hanging from the wall beam, which was still completely intact and evidently had just been brought in from a trap. As I was looking at the animal, the wife of the absent owner entered; obviously distressed because I had seen the

175 /566 cont./ During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous
114 century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the mouth
411 of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russians call "Kilaki,"
326 "make excellent, fine weapons, and among them the best bows,
[101] and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given so little credence by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the indeed very strange linking of the Kilani with the Persian province of Gilan and the Awaren /Avar/ to it, that he felt obliged to question the very existence of such a people (3). Gmelin thought that if there were a people there which was especially distinguished by its weapons-making, all of Siberia must be filled with them, and these weapons would long since have been available, if not from the people themselves, at least through the
[531] [321] Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg's attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed, for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which have no equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak
326 workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown
411 in Siberia in Gmelin's time, and even today scarcely go beyond
556 the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small
quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and, on the other hand, and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

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[113] 2. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

3. See p. 203 above.

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

/567 cont./

● 114 325 326 192 On the other hand, I did have the opportunity of watching the Gilyak forge iron in the village of Tyk on Sakhalin. The smithy was set up in the very rear of the earth yurt, opposite the entrance. For this purpose several boards from the sleeping benches had been removed there, so that the earthen floor underneath was exposed. Here lay two longish bellows (Gilyak chigr) made out of sealskin, whose long tubes converged toward the ends into one common tube. In front of its mouth was set up a semicircular block made of hard, dry clay (Gilyak chugn), which on its lower side was provided with a cutout, the size of which corresponded exactly to the mouth of the bellows tube, and immediately in front of it was the fire, into which were thrust the iron pieces to be forged. In order to keep the bellows tube immovably in place, the two arms were weighted down by several longish and narrow boxes such as are used among the Gilyak, placed on top of one another. A youth worked the two bellows, alternately lifting the one and lowering the other, and another, adult Gilyak, with a pair of tongs (Gilyak watsch) (3), took the iron pieces to be forged out of the fire in order to hammer them on a nearby small, triangular, iron anvil (Gilyak mik). These tongs are of varying sizes depending on the size of the iron pieces to be wrought. Made in my presence were a blade for an ordinary knife used for cutting wood, and the like, a so-called yidshakko (4), and a second, finer piece, a so-called kessj-kessj, [293] that is, one of those chains, sometimes rather complicated /568/ which, equipped with various small pendants, an iron pipe-cleaner, a steel for making fire, and the like, are worn at the belt by the

[104] 3. The w is pronounced here like the English w.

4. See p. 590 above and Plate XXXI /see p. 1011/, Fig. 4.

● 114 325 326 192 [293] /568 cont./
Gilyak (1).

325 326 For this type of work among the Gilyak, in addition to iron (Gilyak wytsch), other metals, as has been mentioned, are also used, especially copper (Gilyak paghla, i.e., red), brass
[531] [435] (Gilyak tussj), and silver (Gilyak totta) (2). The more of the latter that is inlaid in a spear or knife, the higher the value of
[439] the piece. Since it is used only for this purpose or to make ornaments, such as rings, ear pendants, clasps, and the like, they prefer the Chinese silver above all others as the softest, because pure, and therefore the easiest to use for their purposes (3).

[174] The high degree of skill that is expressed in the above-mentioned Gilyak spears, knives, and the like indicates that the forging of iron and other metals is an art practiced by the Gilyak for a long time, and the above-mentioned report by Strahlenberg
365 stands in agreement with this. Undoubtedly, however, they have
177 borrowed this art from one of the two civilized peoples of East
174 Asia neighboring them. The only question is whether from the Chinese or from the Japanese. The circumstance that their relations

1. See p. 590 above and Plate XXVIII /see p.1008/, Fig. 1.

[192] 2. The quicksilver which they saw in my possession was totally new to them and caused great surprise among them, but they immediately gave it the characteristic designation of "totta-tschach," that is, silver-water.

[436] 3. A few words about the use of silver and gold coins in trade, which was still almost unknown to the Gilyak in my time, will be said at the proper place in the next chapter.

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of the continent (2), as may be presumed for various reasons,

2. See p. 247 above /untranslated/.

they still had no knowledge of iron and obtained this only after they had become peripheral peoples, that is, after they had been pushed to the extreme eastern coast of the mainland and to the islands and peninsulas lying in front of it and had thus arrived in the vicinity of Japan (3).

3. The question as to the origin and development of ironworking in Japan lies, of course, outside the scope of this work.

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If we now return to the Gilyak after this digression, this is the place, in concluding the above discussion of their weapons used for hunting on land and on the water, to mention a few other pieces of their armament. First to be mentioned here are two

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types of armor (Gilyak petsch) which are completely different in form, material, and origin, /573/ and which, to be sure, are no longer in use at present, but are of no little historical-ethnographic interest.

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One of them is iron armor (Gilyak wytsch-petsch). This consists of thin, longish, iron lamellas provided with holes, by means of which they are fastened close to one another on animal or fish skins with straps. The headpiece of this armor (Plate XLIV /see p.1024/, Fig. 2) has the shape of a helmet. The upper, rounded ends of its iron lamellas are bent back somewhat and wound with a strap; a piece designed for the protection of the neck hangs down from its lower edge. The breast or body piece (ibid., Fig. 3), of which I saw only individual parts (in the village of Tebach) consists of several rows of iron lamellas overlapping from top to bottom, which are wider and longer than those of the headpiece. In speaking of the Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, Mamia Rinsô (1) mentions this iron armor and says

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1. Op. cit., p. 194.

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● 114 714 [192] that it is known under the name of "bettsi," in which can be recognized without difficulty the above-mentioned Gilyak designation "petsch" distorted in Japanese fashion. He says of it that, although little used, it was greatly esteemed and in war was the 714 556 chief decoration of the one chosen as the leader. In the case of the latter statement the imagination of the traveler may have put in a word, but the former one is perfectly correct; in my time these pieces of armor were not used at all, but, though most of them were in a damaged condition and, indeed, were often to be found only in fragmentary parts, they were regarded as such valuable objects that they gave their owners an aura of extraordinary wealth and respect, and a few of them sufficed for the purchase of a wife. Today, therefore, they are only rare antiques [177] of fabulously high value. They owe this to their foreign origin, for, according to unanimous statements by the Gilyak, they came from the Manchu, and, as Mamia Rinsô also states, are highly prized by the latter themselves.

171 175 714 [113] It is known from the oldest European reports on the subject (2) that even the ancient Manchu (Njutschi) had pieces of armor and helmets, which, like the ones described above, consisted of iron lamellas placed over one another like scales and connected with one another by pins or fastened to a leather foundation. After the conquest of China by the Manchu such armor and helmets were also worn by the Chinese soldiers, officers, and by the

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2. Cf. Neuhof, Die Gesantschaft der Ost-Indisch. Gesellsch. in den vereinigt. Niederländern an den Tartarisch. Cham u. nunmehr auch Sinisch. Keiser /The Embassy of the East Indies Company in the Territories of the Netherlands to the Tatarian Khan and Now Also to the Chinese Emperor/, Amsterdam, 1666, p. 394. Also Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, pp. 3, 6, 13.

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G 714 171 1. (cont.)
out of the same material as the Gilyak käpetsch or a similar one. During the bloody fights which the North Americans had with the Koreans in 1871, they saw them clad in armor which consisted of forty layers of stout cotton material and was almost impenetrable for saber or bayonet (Nordische Presse, 1871, No. 214, according to a report sent to the Times by its reporter in C 714 [113] Shanghai). On the other hand, Ditmar ("Ueber die Koräken und Tschuktschen /The Koryak and Chukchee/." -- Bull. de la cl. hist.-phil. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XIII, p. 131; Mél. russes, Vol. III, p. 41) relates that the Chukchee use armor made out of whalebone and thick animal-skins.

G 411 To conclude the remarks concerning the weapons of the Gilyak, I must consider a piece which, to be sure, is harmless in nature, but is nevertheless interesting and characteristic. It G [192] is their so-called mungtsche (Pl. XLVI /see p.1026/, Fig. 3), a roundish or slightly angular stick of hard wood about five feet long, which from top to bottom bears the characteristic, barely indented spiral design which is found on all the shafts of their lances, spears, and harpoons, and which, despite the smoothness of the latter, nevertheless offers a certain resistance against the palm of the hand pressed on it. The upper end of the mungtsche is rounded off to the shape of a knob, or, more correctly, an acorn, in the lower third it is either merely tapered gradually or flattened somewhat like a saber and is always provided with a G [171] deep groove on the back. From the Gilyak this strange weapon has also advanced to the Negda along the Amgunj, among whom it is called muketschi, evidently a distortion of the Gilyak designation for it, and is generally widespread. Middendorff G [114] became acquainted with it among them. In his travel account

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411 114 he gives an illustration of it and calls it a wooden saber (2) and

2. Vol. IV, p. 1535. The specimen brought back by him and now in our museum is in fact flattened somewhat like a saber in the last third, as mentioned above.

"cudgel of honor." In his opinion it is used only to settle matters of honor in combat, during which it is seized with both hands, and the blows are parried by moving the stick to and fro. His host, the old Negda Oltungab, on the Nemilen (a tributary of the Amgunj showed him how this weapon was used. This agrees essentially with what I learned about it from the Gilyak. During
411 [115] the initial period of my stay in the Amur region, the Patchā-Gilyak Jutschin, a very intelligent person to whom I am indebted for the first groundwork of my Gilyak vocabulary,appeared at the Nikolayev post armed solely with the mungtsche. When I questioned him, he demonstrated the fencing movements for me with his wooden weapon. From his total handling of it, however, it could be assumed without any doubt that it was more than a simple fencing stick or "cudgel." For as he held it in front of him with outstretched right arm, like a halberd resting on the ground, he assumed an air of dignity as though he were a most distinguished person. Also, he did not want to be separated from it even when sitting down. Finally, the respect and regard that he rendered to his mungtsche were also expressed in the fact that at several places where it had been damaged /576/ it was carefully covered with birch bark and through that had not only not suffered in the eyes of its owner, but, on the contrary, had gained in value. All in
411 174 all the mungtsche gave me the impression of a conventional weapon of honor, which originated in ancient times, perhaps in imitation of Japanese lances, and has inherited with the latter its continuing traditional significance. The deep groove always present on the back of the mungtsche, which Middendorff leaves unexplained, but obviously is supposed to represent a channel for the blood, also points to such a prototype.

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the help of snares (1) in a manner similar to that of the Ainu,

> 1. Margaritov", Ob" Orochakh" Imperatorskoi gavani /Concerning the Orochi of Imperial Harbor/, St. Petersburg, 1888, p. 13, Pl. II, Fig. 2.

and from which they use the contents of the musk sacs in particular in trade with the Chinese. In converting their hunting booty into profit, however, the Orochi, because of the great isolation of their homeland, find themselves at a great disadvantage in comparison with all the other peoples of the lower Amur region. In the southern part of their territory, where, as so-called Ta-dse, they live intermingled with the Chinese they do find, to be sure, a ready market among the latter for all their hunting but, as a rule, they are greatly exploited by them in connection with this /587/ and not infrequently, through advance payments, are made their lifelong debtors. Farther to the north, however, where the Chinese element is missing, the Orochi, living almost exclusively by hunting, rely on their neighbors, the Goldi and Olcha, to sell their booty.

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In concluding the above consideration of the way hunting is practiced among the peoples of the lower Amur region and its greater or lesser importance for the total pattern of their lives, I cannot but make room for an observation which the traveler who has ethnographic aims in mind is involuntarily forced to make. Whereas winter is by far the most favorable season of the year for ethnographic research among the Gilyak, and summer the most unfavorable, this reverses itself more and more into the exact opposite in an upstream direction along the Amur and its right tributaries toward the Goldi and Orochi. During the summer the Gilyak are wholly occupied with fishing and the preparation of supplies of fish for the winter and even bring something nomadic into their lives, inasmuch as many, in order to seek localities more favorable for fishing, then change their place of residence temporarily and often simply camp in tents scattered on the

RX2
Goldi RX3
Tungus RUS

G /587 cont./

22 islands of the river and along the tributaries. With the onset of
36 winter, however, all of them again assemble in the more com-
114 fortable and spacious winter dwellings, and there begins a long period of a quieter and more settled life which, in its regular routine with the hunting carried on only in the vicinity, the sturgeon fishing on the ice, the trade and communication, the manifold domestic tasks and handicraft, the peculiar and prolonged bear festivals, etc., offers the ethnographer a rich field for observation and study. It is almost the same among the
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221 Olcha. Among them, however, and to an even greater extent
114 among the Goldi, life in summer assumes an even more nomadic
361 character as a result of the easily transportable tent dwellings solely used then, and the farther upstream one goes, the more the winter dwellings are deserted, because part of the men have left to hunt in more or less remote regions. As we saw, among the Ussuri Goldi only women, children, and aged people are to be found in them in winter, because all the able-bodied men go hunting, and, finally, the Orochi not infrequently take their wives and children along into the wilderness on their hunting, which takes up the entire winter. With respect to them, therefore, summer, which calls them back from the forests and for fishing and seal-hunting assembles them in the summer dwellings, which, though likewise only tent-shaped, are located at definite points along the seacoast and at the mouths of the rivers, offers the traveler the best time, in fact, almost the only possible time, for ethnographic research. Thus, all the living conditions of the lower Amur tribes vary and change greatly, depending on whether and to what extent fishing or hunting plays the principal role among them.

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224 /588/ I cannot discuss in detail the hunting practices of the
114 peoples of the upper Amur region, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon, because I had only fleeting contact with them, and at a time when, far from their hunting areas, they were still in part occupied with fishing in the Amur River. With respect to

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2. (cont.)
whaler that had run aground in the vicinity of the northwestern tip of Sakhalin was killed by the especially notorious Gilyak from Tammlawo and the boat was
•[114] plundered. In 1855, among the Gilyak of Poghobi, I saw a bucket bearing a number and an English inscription, which presumably came from it.

that the occupation of their territory achieved by the Russians with very few means in the beginning took place in such a peaceful manner and without any bloodshed. Undoubtedly the love of trade inherent in the Gilyak to a high degree very
439 essentially contributed to this. The possibility of being able to
[174] exchange in the Russian settlements an assortment of products of which they had an abundance, and for which they otherwise could find no market, such as fish, game, berries, etc., for various articles greatly coveted by them, especially material for clothing and tobacco, must have made them peaceably disposed toward them, and the great advantage that they were able to draw from this trade by their industriousness, cleverness, and skill kept suppressed the suspicion and fear that the newcomers and their rapidly growing numbers and strength aroused in them. The Nikolayev post soon became the most important trade center of the Amur Gilyak, and, thanks to the active trade /592/ that the latter maintained with their fellow-tribesmen along the Sea of Okhotsk and on Sakhalin, as well as with the Ainu and the Tungusic Amur peoples, many Russian wares were soon widely
184 distributed in the region. Nevertheless, in my time among the
648 Gilyak of Sakhalin, where, apart from the Murawjof post in Aniwa Bay, already destroyed again, there were not yet any Russian settlements, there was a suspicious and hostile attitude toward the Russians, which made it necessary for the traveler to be on
[123] his guard constantly against actual attacks. In the evening, when they sat around the fire blazing in the yurt, I repeatedly heard them argue about the Russians who had come into their

A /621 cont./
175 Manchu language. Rinso continues his report, "The successors
648 of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives,
439 from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials
622 in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Ainu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Santaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

G /622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous
Gi century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had
A formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tribu-
175 tary relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region,
648 among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin
439 Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places
622 there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's
G time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited
Gi to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves,
A by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate
[114] and reliable Japanese traveler.

Vol. III, No. 3

Ethnographic Part -- Second Half

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Preface

114 128 It was not granted to the author of Travels and Research in the Amur Region to carry out his work to its completion. Nevertheless, he had gone far enough just before his death so that with the present printing of the manuscript that he left behind it is very nearly brought to an end. Although existing notes make it appear that the author had plans for several more sections, among them such important ones as those on religious conceptions, ideas about sickness and death, the customs associated with these, etc., it was nevertheless felt that a continuation of the work on the basis of the remaining travel notebooks and journals should not be contemplated, especially since there was no way of judging how critically the author himself would have dealt with the notes 128 made decades ago. Since in the meantime a number of lithographic plates had been made in advance for the unfinished remainder, and they would be meaningless without an explanatory text, it seemed advisable, insofar as necessary for an understanding of the illustrations, to have excerpts from the notebooks and journals follow as an appendix in the framework of the missing sections, the compilation of which was assigned to the undersigned by the Imperial Academy of Sciences.

From the standpoint of their content, the excerpts fall into the following two main groups:

I. Religious conceptions of the Amur peoples. -- Idols. Amulets, Shamans.

II. Conceptions about life after death and the corresponding treatment of the dead.

The text of the notebooks and journals, which fills 14 closely written octavo notebooks in the smallest handwriting, has been reproduced verbatim except for unessential editorial changes. The added footnotes are marked ** to distinguish them from those of the author.

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or unable to pay the high bride price of the Amur Gilyak. And among the latter the Tammla-wo Gilyak are especially notorious and feared on account of their predatory disposition.

As much harm as the abduction of women causes for many Gilyak, and as bloody as the consequences are as a rule because of their emotional and irascible temperament, a lighter and nobler aspect appears in the motives occasioning it. Since, as has been said, it almost always takes place with the consent of the female party, inducements other than crude male rapacity, in particular a revolt of female pride against the treatment of the wife as a mere object of purchase, and in certain cases even deeper affection defying all obstacles and dangers, may also not infrequently contribute to it in decisive fashion. Thus, in [533] [126] abducting a wife there is a romantic-poetic element which the conclusion of marriage by purchase lacks, and it is certainly no mere accident that among the few Gilyak songs which I obtained, and which, unfortunately, are unintelligible to me except for individual words, there are two which allegedly were sung by Gilyak men (Orkin and Largun) to their wives (Rschywguk and Nymguk) obtained by abduction.

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Another point with regard to the abduction of women must be touched upon here. Dr. Awgustinowitsch, who spent a year (1871/72) as a physician in the Gilyak part of Sakhalin, maintains that, in order to get married, the Gilyak are absolutely obliged to steal the girl of their choice, which is almost always done with her and her parents' consent: among them the abduction of the bride constitutes the whole ceremonial of concluding the marriage; later the man brings to his parents-in-law a gift which usually consists of a weapon that can be used for fishing or hunting (2). If this statement is supposed to imply actual obligatory

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2. F. Avgustinovich", Zhizn' Russkikh" i inorodtsev" na ostr. Sakhalinie /Life of the Russians and the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersb., 1874, p. 38.

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583 114 wife-abduction, it needs no further special refutation after what has been said above. But in view of everything that I heard from them about it, I must also deny that the Gilyak must always undertake the mock abduction of the bride or maiden in concluding a marriage, which can be regarded as a survival of a formerly obligatory wife-abduction among them. The abduction of a woman is never a /636/ trifling affair among them, but, as has been said, is damage to property, always a deadly serious business.

582 601 Let us now return to the regular conclusion of marriage among the Gilyak. Only to a very limited extent is blood relationship an obstacle to marriage, in that only siblings and the children of brothers are not permitted to marry each other. Even in the language they are not differentiated, in that "ykyn" and "atschek" mean older and younger brother as well as older and younger cousin on the father's side, and "ransh" means sister as well as female cousin on the father's side, and, accordingly, the brother and the sister of the father are designated with the same word as father and mother, namely, "ytyk" and "ymyk." But beyond that, 582 the membership of both partners in the same paternal kin group, which, as we shall see later, is also taken into account in other connections by the Gilyak, constitutes no obstacle to marriage among them as it does among some Siberian peoples (1) and, on the other hand, among the Chinese (2) and through them, in

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[171] [113] 1. As, for instance, among the Ostyak, Samoyed, Lapps Tyler /Tylor/, Forsch. über die Urgesch. der Mensch. und die Entwick. der Civilis. /Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization/, transl. from the English by H. Müller, p. 359).

[113] 2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. III, p. 133. Pauthier,

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593 842 the help that they give in the household, a fine bride price. A sterile wife, then, is commonly exposed to the risk that the hus-
[595] band will cast her out or take a second wife, who, if blessed with
[586] children, would soon push her completely into the background. Needless to say, the wife shares the husband's desire and scorns no means that might serve to fulfill it, and the prevailing supersti-
[825] tion gives her many such means. For instance, I saw many a
[789] woman wear the tooth of a bitch around the neck in the belief that this would make her fertile. Presumably other amulets specially carved for the purpose are worn by the women, though I am unable to name a particular object of this sort.

844 After all this, it is all the more surprising that there exists among the Gilyak an inhuman, cruel custom in connection with the birth of a child, the custom, that is, that a woman may never give birth in the house, but must always leave it, regardless of
844 the weather and of the time of day or year. I did not want to believe this, but I myself witnessed it. When I visited the village
114 of Kulk on April 24 (May 6), 1855, and entered one of the houses, I saw a woman going out extremely heavily and laboriously and sinking down nearby on a prepared bed of straw, where she was immediately seized with labor pains. The husband stood in front of the door, calmly looked on for a while, and then went back into the house, whereupon I, too, left. A few hours later I heard from a Gilyak of the same village that the birth had been successful, but the child died soon afterward. The mother was still alive.
[132] The mean temperature on this day was 2.8° R. in nearby Nikolayevsk. At 7 o'clock in the morning the thermometer registered only 1.1°, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon it rose to 6.3°, and dropped again to 2° at 9 o'clock in the evening. The river had not yet thrown off its cover of decaying ice, and, with the sky slightly cloudy, for the most part, a moderate east wind was blowing from the Liman (1).

1. Cf. Vol. IV., p. 30, of this work.

844 During the colder seasons, in the late fall and winter, delivery
343 does not take place in the open, but rather in a birch-bark tent

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844 erected for this purpose near the house, where a small fire can
[343] also be kept going. Nevertheless, with the low winter temperatures
[132] and the severe snowstorms in the Gilyak country, this is still
[165] a harsh demand for mother and child, and I do not doubt but that
the high mortality among Gilyak children and the generally small population of the Gilyak are caused in large part by this bad custom. I am unable to say what conceptions gave rise to it. It is not likely, however, that it is based upon the superstition
[846] that there is something inherently unclean about the woman during
delivery, for, as Dr. Seeland (2) and Deniker (3) note, she is subjected to no special purification after it, but, on the contrary, after about 8-12 days may return to the house without further ado.
114 The first-named thinks rather that this /642/ custom may be
844 linked with the Gilyak belief that misfortune will befall a house
768 in which a death has occurred and therefore it has to be torn
[963/ down; for this reason they also have dying persons carried out of
the house and left to lie there until they are dead (1). It is possible that they have such a notion, but it still has to be substantiated that they actually tear down or at least abandon a house in which someone has died, which still seems very doubtful, particularly with respect to the large and complex Chinese

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[113] 2. "Die Ghiliaken, eine ethnographische Skizze /The Gilyak, an Ethnographic Sketch/," (Russische Revue, edited by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882.

[113] 3. Cf. Dr. H. Ploss, das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde /Woman in Natural Science and Ethnology/, 3rd ed., edited and published by Dr. Max Bartels, Leipzig, 1891, Vol. II, p. 43.

1. Dr. Seeland, op. cit., p. 223.

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114 winter-houses (tschadryfs), which are erected jointly by the
844 villagers and are usually occupied by several families. I cannot
768 affirm it from my own experience: during my stay in the Nikolayev post several deaths occurred in the nearby village of Kuik, without any of the houses being abandoned, much less torn down, but the persons concerned may have died outside. On the other hand, I once saw a corpse lying in a house, which will be discussed later in connection with the mode of burial of the Gilyak, but it, too, could have been brought back in after death had occurred outside the house. If the association of ideas suspected by Dr. Seeland is to be found among the Gilyak, this would prove that at every birth they are primarily thinking of the probable death of either the mother or the child, which, of course, fully justifies their own barbaric treatment of the woman in child-
844 birth. Along with this, however, they resort to all sorts of other
532 superstitious treatments to insure an easy and successful birth.
782 Thus, well before the birth, a figure referring to the act of birth is carved out of wood (see Pl. LIV, Fig. 6 /see p. 1254/) and provided with small offerings of food, tobacco, and the like in order to pacify and make favorably disposed toward them the evil spirits that might have an influence on the birth.

844 No one is permitted to enter the tent where the woman is in
413 confinement, with the exception of the midwife and other women
giving assistance. The umbilical cord is cut with a special knife
[531] (Gilyak kysmrk- or kyssk-dshakko, Pl. XXXII, Fig. 5 /see p. 1012/), the handle of which is provided with especially rich carving and which may not be used for any other purpose (2). Evidently, the Gilyak attribute especially great significance to this act. At the place where the child was born it is washed and cared for by the women and is kept there, if it has not died in the meantime, until it moves into the house with the mother, where she alone takes care of it.

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[126] 2. I obtained the specimen illustrated, which belongs to our museum, from the same village of Kuik.

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It must be noted here that the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinso, either misunderstood the conditions just described, and especially the position of the slaves among the Gilyak, or else intentionally put them in a different light and thereby gave rise to completely false conceptions concerning their domestic and marital situation. With reference to his stay among the Smerenkur (Gilyak) on Cape Noteito on the west coast /649/ of Sakhalin (1), he says that "there it is the custom of the country that the women give orders to the men, treat them like servants, and have them perform all the work. He himself, it is said further, had to bend under the yoke of the mistress of the house, and he, like the rest, had his daily work imposed on him by her, but since the mistress of the house was particularly well disposed toward him, her other men became jealous, and he, who was well aware of this, was careful not to become involved in things which he would have had to conceal, but rather occupied himself solely with domestic work under the eyes of the other men, and, as a result of this modesty, he gained the confidence and esteem of the former, who presented him with meat and fish" (2).

[197] It is difficult to understand how Siebold (3), on the basis

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1. Cape Noteito is not given on Mamia Rinsô's map as reproduced by Siebold (op. cit., Pl. XXV), but on Mogami Tok'nai's map it is shown somewhat diagonally across from Taba Bay or the entrance into Taba-Kidsi Straits (see above, p. 964).

2. Mamia Rinsó, "To-tatskiko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p. 169.

3. Op. cit., p. 198.

/649 cont./

114 of this statement by Rinsô, could express the conjecture that the
171 *kojektschutsch* or *kojachtschitsch* of the Kamchadal known
175 through Steller and Krascheninnikof (4), that is, men being used in the place of women, were also to be found among the Gilyak. Suffice it to state that neither I nor, as far as I know, any other traveler in the Amur region ever encountered any trace of this deplorable custom among the Gilyak, and that Siebold's con-
114 jecture is therefore wholly unfounded. At first glance there
595 seems to be more justification for his conclusion, drawn from
175 the same statement by Rinsô, that polyandry exists among the Smerenkur on Krafto (Gilyak of Sakhalin). "The northwest coast of Krafto," he adds, "would accordingly be the only land in the world where polyandry is practiced in accordance with law or custom at the present time." But, as may be seen from the above descriptions, this conclusion, too, is by no means accurate: nowhere, neither on Sakhalin nor on the mainland, does polyandry prevail among the Gilyak. But how then can the Japanese traveler's report quoted above, which speaks of the "rest" and the "other men" of the Gilyak "mistress of the house" in Noteito, be explained? The trustworthiness of Mamia Rinsô, often stressed in these pages, does not permit simply rejecting the report under discussion as fiction. In his discussion of the domestic situation of the Gilyak which occupies us at the moment, he gives further proof of his credibility, in that he so accurately describes the peculiar cradle used by them (5), as has also been done here (6). Yet I cannot but assume that in this

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4. Steller, *op. cit.*, p. 351, note. Krascheninnikof, *op. cit.*, p. 40. See also p. 473, note 2, above.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 191.

6. See p. 1046 above.

/649 cont./
114 case personal motives on the part of the Japanese traveler came
175 into play and gave rise to the vague wording of the report, which
595 can be interpreted in various ways. Forced to wait among the
114 Smerenkur (Gilyak)at Cape Noteito for an opportune moment to
175 carry out his planned trip to Tôtats (on the opposite mainland),
592 which had been unsuccessful the year before, /650/ and without
595 any provisions, Mamia Rinsô found himself, in order to stay
alive, forced to do all kinds of work, such as cutting wood and
the like, in the house where he had taken refuge. For a time,
[357] then, he entered the ranks of persons obligated to perform do-
mestic service in exchange for food and lodging and had to
[567] accommodate himself, like the "rest" and the "other" men in
a similar position, including the slaves, to act according to the
orders of the woman in charge of the house and to being treated
"like a servant" by her. This does not mean either polyandry nor
a dominant position of the woman over her husband. Pride and
vanity, and perhaps also fear of his government, probably pre-
vented the traveler from fully and openly confessing in his re-
port the undignified and humiliating position and treatment
which had befallen him among the Smerenkur, and prompted him
to describe the situation in a more favorable light as the alleged
[515] custom of the people. He also depicts the women of the
Smerenkur in an ideal light, saying that "their face and skin are
extremely delicate and beautiful due to daily washing," whereas
actually the Gilyak women of Sakhalin look still dirtier than
those on the mainland as a consequence of staying in the cramped,
dark, and sooty earth huts.

114 Even though Mamia Rinsô avoids speaking of slaves in re-
175 ferring to his subservient position among the Smerenkur, he is
567 well aware of the existence of such among them. For he says (1)
of the inhabitants of southern Krafto (Ainu) that in their trade
with the Santaner, that is, Gilyak, Olcha, and Goldi, they
"even frequently sell human beings, and, to be sure, widowers

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435 (1) *Op. cit.*, pp. 186 and 187.

/650 cont./

114 and widows, unmarried people, orphans, and the needy; 3-4,
175 often 6-7 pieces of gold cloth are paid per head, but young and
567 stupid persons, however, who cannot be used for any services,
[435] are exchanged for crude goods." According to him, even the
[439] Ainu from Jesso /Yesso/ and from the island of Risiri come over to
Sakhalin in order to buy there human beings in the situations
[304] named. He adds: "This is why one finds tattooed women in the
country of the Smerenkur" -- a perfectly correct conclusion, for,
as has already been pointed out (2), tattooing is by no means customary among the Gilyak. Rinsô's observation concerning the
[184] slave trade of the Ainu correspond completely with ours above and
substantially supplement them, but his latter remark leaves no
doubt that not only the Gilyak on the mainland but also those of
Sakhalin keep slaves, or at any rate female slaves, among them,
whom the latter obtain probably exclusively from the Ainu. Be-
175 sides purchase, however, the Santaner, as Rinsô reports, also get
567 their slaves in another, more brutal manner by taking to their
country as security the brothers, sisters, and children of those Ainu
who owe them debts in trading and are unable to settle these
debts in the following year when they return. Needless to say,
[648] they become slaves there. The Japanese government, which had
absolute domination over southern Sakhalin and its main trade
center, Ssiranussi, did not /651/ feel bound to check this scandalous practice, which ceased only after the island passed into
Russian possession.

567 Before I go further in describing the family relations of the
171 Gilyak, I should like to insert some data concerning slavery
among other Paleo-Asiatic peoples for comparison. As disgraceful as the Ainu practice of selling fellow tribesmen as slaves to the Gilyak and Olcha is, yet nothing is reported, either by Rinsô or by other travelers, to the effect that they keep persons from their own tribe as slaves. What kept them from it, whether it was their own kindheartedness and weakness or a prohibition of the Japanese acting as absolute rulers, may be left undecided.

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2. See pp. 631 ff. above.

/664 cont./

175 648 from memory to such an extent that I never heard them mentioned by them and learned of no Gilyak term for them. On the part of the Russians, however, in my time, at the beginning of the fifties, a firm foothold was held at individual points in the lowermost Amur region, for example, in Petrovskoye, Nikolayevsk, and Mariinsk (1), but they did not pay any attention at all to the natives and left them with their own institutions and customs as long as they did not disturb the order within the ooo Russian settlements (2). Thus in my time the arrangements made

175 648 Thus in my time the arrangements made by the Manchu-Chinese for governing the Gilyak had already disappeared, and none had yet been introduced by the Russians; the people were left to themselves and within the limits mentioned, could do as they pleased. The following remarks pertain 648

1. See pp. 174-181 above.

175 177 648 ● 114 2. Only after the conclusion of the Treaty of Aigun (1858) and the definitive occupation of the Amur region by the Russians were village elders (Russ. starosta) appointed by them from among the Gilyak and the other natives and put under the district chief (Russ. isprawnik /ispravnik/) residing in the nearest post. Dr. Seeland, who had already met such village elders among the Gilyak in the years 1878-80 (Russische Revue, Vol. XXI, p. 233), failed to recognize the wholly Russian origin of this arrangement, and generally failed to distinguish adequately between what was originally peculiar to the Gilyak and what they took over from the Russians -- and at that time this had already spread very far and deeply -- deprives his description of them of almost all its value.

/670 cont./
574 took part, and until far into the night one small pipe after
another was smoked, passing from hand to hand, always in the
same tranquil, deliberate manner. Hospitality also requires
that the dogs be fed before they continue on their journey the
following day.

484 The Gilyak thus travels only in short daily trips from village
to village. If, with greater distance between the villages or when
574 bad weather takes him by surprise, he is forced to spend the
night out-of-doors, and he reaches the next village after the
regular dog-feeding has already taken place there, the fire
under the kettles is rekindled without further ado, and a special
meal is prepared for the dogs of the newly arrived guest. Needless to say, he then stays there for the night and does not continue his journey until the following morning after the dogs
have again been fed.

484 In any case, however, the weather is first carefully checked,
821 especially in the villages located along the seacoast, where
strong winds and blizzards very often occur and put the traveler
[114] in danger. During the several days of bad weather which detained me in the village of Tyk on the west coast of Sakhalin
in February of 1855 and 56, I frequently witnessed the indecision
which overcomes the Gilyak when the weather is still rather
doubtful and the question arises as to whether going on under
such conditions would be too risky. In most instances the con-
[157] sultations ended in another day of rest, for haste is quite foreign
to the Gilyak, and an almost excessive caution always guides
them on land as well as on sea journeys. On several occasions,
[114] however, I also had an opportunity to marvel at their knowledge
[123] of the climatic conditions of their country /671/ and the experiences that they had with them, for I had once made ready to
continue my journey and found myself forced to return to the
hated village where I had been received so inhospitably. On
another occasion I reached the seacoast, which was 5-7 versts
from the village, and continued my journey along it, but had
821 to endure very bad weather and snowstorms. The Gilyak especially feared being surprised by an ady (north and northwest) or

431 439 177 648 /673 cont./ This custom may have arisen in consequence of the long trade relations of the Gilyak with the Manchu-Chinese and Japanese, who in Ssanssin, as well as in Ssiranussi, have their officials and trade agents who demand such captatio benevolentiae in their own interest and to the detriment of the government or the trading houses concerned.

437 Moreover, the Gilyak conclude no transaction without expressing the wish or the request that something over the price agreed upon be given as a free gift, pai. And this is precisely what Judin did when, in the transaction with the Russian-American Company for the sizable sum that he received for compensation, he wanted to be given various costly fabrics and other luxury items.

437 123 157 I must say for the Gilyak, however, that as a rule one can trust their word and their honesty in business dealings with them, for example, the delivery of wares or other articles paid for in advance. As guides, too, they are generally trustworthy; in fact, some of them so identified themselves with my interests that they occasionally even warned me against the thievish instincts of the population of this or that village which in their eyes was notoriously
● 114 157 123 bad. For the most part, especially in remote areas, it is very difficult to get guides for a trip, for as a rule the Gilyak are too suspicious and fearful to give up their freedom and cast their lot in with that of the traveler. More than once I failed completely, but when I did get some I usually had reason to be satisfied with their determination, their exact knowledge of the locality, and, in the evening beside the blazing fire, with their communicativeness and cleverness. Among the many guides whom I had on my journeys, there were only two who deserted me. And that happened under circumstances which in part make their faithlessness understandable. On one occasion, when I was traveling along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, I was surprised by a bad snowstorm. The broad-soled Russian sled stubbornly stuck to the wet snow, and the dogs were already so tired that they constantly collapsed and could not be started up again by being beaten. There was nothing for us to do but to drag the dogs and the sled up the moderate height of the bank, which, covered with small dwarf larch trees, did not even offer the prospect of a cheerful campfire. No wonder that under such circumstances my guide, who on account of the earlier

/673 cont./

114 157 123 snowstorm had set out from Tāgl merely on ski, continued on his way without considering us /674/ in the hope of reaching his nearby native village of Kullj before nightfall. Nor did he appear on the following day, and thus he gave up the fee due him. The other guide, a Tro Gilyak from Lub-wo, named Eospin, who had guided me through part of the Tymy Valley, behaved worse: he was forced to spend the night in Tafiz-wo in a small tent-yurt, where after the fire had died down the mercury froze, he crept out of it, cut the straps of one of my pack-sleds, burrowed through the contents, and made off with a few of my people's garments.

484 805 Only in one respect should the Gilyak never be trusted, namely, when it comes to setting the time when something is to happen, for instance, when a guide or somebody else is to arrive, etc. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that they have no proper conception of time and only a very inaccurate way of determining time and reckoning time. Apart from general designations, such as day (muw) and night (urk), morning (tyt) and evening (padf), the time of the day is determined only according to whether the sun (keng) is rising or setting (k. myrtsch or padntsch, is being born, and k. jugtsch or mutsch, is dying, respectively), whether the sun is climbing (k. tytyrach bokirtsch) or going down (k. kotretsch), and whether it has reached its approximately highest position, its height at noon (k. muwutytsch). As for the sequence of days, they have special designations for only the two days closest to today (nych), such as yesterday (nymr) and tomorrow (pyt or pat), the day before yesterday (nymrynk) and the day after tomorrow (possjch). There are, of course, no names for the days of the week, and the days of the month are not counted either. In order to designate a day back or ahead of the next two days, the Gilyak are content to give the number of night rests that there 484 804 805 have been in the meantime or will be. On journeys, the spatial distances familiar to them from experience, come to their aid in that they know exactly what stretch they can cover in a day by boat or sled under normal conditions without tiring themselves or their dogs too much, and where they have to make their camp for the night. Such localities as a rule have special names among

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1. (cont.)
and the time from one new moon to another is called taktuk, like the moon itself. Klutschak, Als Eskimo unter den Eskimos /An Eskimo among the Eskimo/, Vienna, Pest, Leipzig, 1881, p. 208.

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these have several different designations, not merely in one and the same place, but also in various parts of the Gilyak area. In particular there are those used by the Gilyak of the Amur River and the Amur-Liman, the west coast of Sakhalin, and the south coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and, on the other hand, the others used in the interior and along the east coast of the island, by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak. I shall give them next as I noted them myself after repeated inquiries and shall later add a few remarks.

List of the Gilyak Names of the Months:

	on the mainland and the west coast of Sakhalin	in the interior and on the east coast of Sakhalin
January . . .	Tscham-long	Klu-long.
February . .	Karr-long	Tscham-long.
March	Tschrad-long	Karr-long.
April	Arkail-long	Tschrad-long.
May	Walten tengi-long, also Kopengwa-l. and Kittägtsch-l. (2) . . .	Pittun-long.

• [114]
2. In the Gilyak word-list compiled by Dr. Grube the last two terms have erroneously been applied to April instead of to May: see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, pp. 44, 58, 59, and 120 /the appendix

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2. (cont.)
referred to is not included in the book translated here/. *Tschrad-long* (March) is likewise erroneously identified with July (*op. cit.*, p. 108).

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June	*Tengi-wota-long*, . . . also *Pota-long*	*Arkail-long.*
July	*Matschn-tschrar-long* . .	*Tscho-taghr-long.*
August . . .	*Lygi-wota-l.*, also *Pilja-tschrar-l.*, and simply *Pilja-l.*	*Matschki-long.*
September . .	*Ngarwi-long*, also *Tschitsch-ngar-long*	*Pilja-long.*
October . . .	*Oni-lami-long*, also *Pottschawo-long* . . .	*Ngadgho-long.*
November . .	*Tlo-long*	*Kawekö-long.*
December . .	*Anj-long*	*Tlo-long.*

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Unfortunately, Glehn does not indicate in which of the two above-named parts of the Gilyak area he learned their names for the months. According to him, they run as follows:

January
February } just as according to me.
March

April . . . *Pitul-long.*

May . . *Arschkai-long.*

/676 cont./

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June . .	Tingi-long and Tingivata-long.
July August September	are not given.
October . .	Iging-long and Mugiti-long.
November .	Klu-long and Anj-long (in the north).
December .	Tschlo-long.

114 184 805 From the fact that the first three months in Glehn bear exactly the same names as I noted down according to statements of the Gilyak of the mainland and the west coast of Sakhalin, I venture to conclude that he, too, inquired about them there. The same is true for June, whose name refers to the mass migration of the tengi-tscho (Salmo proteus), which, according to him, is called tingi-tscho. The other names of the months found in Glehn, however, seem to me to have been learned among the Tro Gilyak.

805 184 [122] My knowledge of the Gilyak language does not extend far enough to explain all the names of the months given above. For only a few of them shall I venture a word or two of explanation. It could readily be assumed that they are based upon especially striking natural phenomena and conditions characteristic of the month concerned, which, however, with regard to time, might now and then differ considerably in the habitation area of the Gilyak. This happens particularly in the case of the mass migration upstream of Salmo lagocephalus in the Amur and in the Tymy River on Sakhalin and calls forth among the dwellers along the latter a corresponding shift in the names of the months as compared to the Amur Gilyak, as I have already mentioned in detail on another occasion (1). In a similar manner, /677/ the

1. Pages 819-823.

/677 cont./

805 3. (cont.)
825 des Russ. Reiches /Contribution to the
171 Topographical Knowledge of the Russian
113 Empire/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1786, pp. 557 and 539), just as among the Samoyed of the great tundra (lembi-jirij; see A. G. Schrenck, Reise nach dem Nordosten des europ. Russlands /Journey to the Northeast of European Russia/, Dorpat, 1848, Vol. I, p. 537, where the eagle arrives as the earliest migratory bird, January among the Ostjak (Falk, op. cit., p. 466).

805 In the Tymy Valley I heard January called klu-long--
184 a designation which Glehn, obviously erroneously, like the one for
●114 December (anj-long), ascribes to November. According to my information, on the other hand, the name customary on the mainland and along the west coast of Sakhalin for the last-named month, tlo-long, is transferred to December by the Tymy and Tro Gilyak, with which Glehn, who calls it tschlo-long, seems to agree, and which would be quite analogous to the aforementioned shifting of names. The name anj-long, i.e., "year month," or perhaps "year-closing month," which I heard the Amur Gilyak use for December, may be easily explained by the observation, which presumably did not escape them either, that in this month the sun reaches its lowest position above the horizon and from then on begins to climb again. Finally the most fluctuating and uncertain name is arkail, which remains unintelligible to me and which, according to my information is supposed to designate April on the mainland and on the west coast of Sakhalin, June in the interior and along the east coast of the island, but, according to Glehn's inquiries, May. The last two assertions, however, are evidently based on an error, for they contradict the events of Nature which the Gilyak themselves mentioned to me as characteristic for the
805 individual months. Thus, they said /678/ that arkail-long (April) is the month when the ice breaks up on the Amur, May -- the one

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533 Njaungur showed special virtuosity in singing: even the melody was much more varied than the previous ones; in addition, however, he, too, produced the stuttering, the loss of voice, strangulation and the stopping of the gutteral sounds, besides the subsequent belching out /682/ of the words like greater skill, and, moreover, besides the sobbing gutteral trill, he also made a falsetto nasal trill. In his case the trills, and especially the latter, reminded one vividly of the vibrating sound of the jew's-harp. These trills require a great deal of practice, and it is impossible for us to hold them so long and to produce them so clearly. It is also interesting physiologically that in producing these trills the soft palate plays an important role."

Middendorff continues: "From all these songs the differences caused by the individuality of the singers became clear: whereas Lamran, with a good voice and a clear trill, had in his way a melancholy, pleasant, and grave style of singing, the other two singers were like our artistic virtuosos who play violin variations on the cello. Along with the singing it must also be kept in [194] mind that the Gilyak language, and thus also the an͡gà, sounds as though the nose had a chicken wishbone clamped on it; in addition there is the childish pronunciation of the r, which sounds as though it were midway between the r, g, and l and which is connected with d, g, and h, and, furthermore, the French n͡g, the English th and w, the g combined with d, etc."

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533 Middendorff also noted down the words of the last two songs, but unfortunately I must disregard them here since they cannot be even approximately deciphered. And this should not surprise one, for, in view of the traveler's very short sojourn among the Gilyak, the many and very peculiar sounds of their language must have sounded most strange and bewildering to his ear, which was as yet wholly unaccustomed to them. And there is also the circumstance, making comprehension more difficult to so great a degree, that the singer has the greatest freedom to change and to modulate the words as he pleases to make them fit his rhythm and melody -- a freedom which he does not give up as a rule even in repeating the words, because they were once impressed upon his memory this way during the singing. Hence it is more than doubtful that an interpreter, of

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533 114 whom at that time there were only some of the poorest kind among the Russians, could have understood the content of a Gilyak song; instead, he rendered it, as did not escape Middendorff, only praeter propter. The aforementioned license of the singers is also [126] the reason why I understand so little of the Gilyak songs dictated to me by Jutschin, Tenghan, and others toward the end of my stay of two years among the Gilyak that I can only recognize isolated words in them, such as the place names and personal names occurring in them. The same thing happened to Dr. Grube, though, besides my Gilyak vocabulary, the lexical material collected by Glehn was available to him. Only the song given to me by Jutschin under the title of Walghytsch (1) has greater interest for me, and this only on account of the explanations which he gave me in connection with the /683/ place Mlygh-wo mentioned or sung about in it, a place to which, according to Gilyak belief, the souls of those who die a natural death are supposed to go. More about this later.

534 The musical performances of the Gilyak are even poorer, but are not by far as peculiar as the singing. Aside from the drum of the shamans, which serves other purposes, the Gilyak have only two [439] musical instruments -- both of a very primitive kind. One of them is a jew's-harp (Gilyak kanga or wutschranga; Olcha mugheny), an instrument which they allegedly get from the "Manchu" and, accordingly, prize very highly, but which is so simple in construction that they could very well make it themselves. It is distributed among them in three forms: made out of brass, made out of wood, and made out of iron. (See the woodcuts a, b, and c below.) The first (a) consists of a narrow brass plate several inches long, into which a tongue-shaped lamina is cut lengthwise, remaining attached to the frame at one end. Both ends of the frame are pierced and equipped with a thread in order to hold the instrument in front of the mouth, and, by expelling air, the tongue-shaped lamina is

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1. No. III in Dr Grube's Gilyak word list; see the appendix to Vol. III of this work, p. 41 /this appendix is not included in the book translated here/.

/698 cont./

231 hind legs. After this the other boards on top of the cage are removed, and the bear is dragged by a number of people into the yurt, where the dogs' table found in the middle of it has meanwhile been removed. Since one cannot depend on merely the leather noose thrown around the neck of the animal, if it is full-grown, a Gilyak now jumps in front of the bear with legs apart, seizes it by the roots of the ears, and presses its head against the floor. Simultaneously two other Gilyak armed with wooden poles do the same thing with its front paws, and now still another jumps on the back of the animal, straddles it, and puts a collar on it, from which, by means of a revolving ring, long iron chains and leather straps run in two directions. With these the bear, after its hind legs have once more been unfettered and, roaring loudly, it has stood erect, is now tied between the two central posts of the yurt in such a way that it can comfortably lie down and get up again. As a reward, so to speak, or as a token of fondness a few slices of jukola or seal fat are then given to it, whereupon it is led around the inside of the house several times and then back to its cage."

114 231 175 Undoubtedly this Gilyak custom of keeping bears in captivity, occasionally bringing them into their houses, and treating them in the manner described has given rise to the legend, very widespread in Siberia, that they tame bears and use them as domestic animals for riding and driving. In a Russian document about the Amur stemming from the seventeenth century and published by Spasskij (2) ("Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie /Story about the Great Amur River/"), it is said: "on a large island (Sakhalin) lying opposite the mouth of the river live the Gilyak peoples, who keep 500-1000 dogs in their villages, eat all kinds

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[113] 2. In his article, "Sviedieniia Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII. stol. /The Russians' Knowledge about the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geograf. Obshch., Pt. VII, 1853, Sec. II, Res., p. 20.

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114 231 175 of animals, and feed bears for peaceful work" (3). At the beginning Spasskij did not want to give any credence to the latter statement, both on account of its strangeness and from the lack of any other confirmation. But in the "Copy of a Sketch from the Siberian Country" (Spisok" s" chertezha Sibirskiia zemli) published by him in 1849, it is said explicitly: "The Gilyak people sow no grain, eat fish, and drive or ride on /699/ bears" (Gilyanskie lyudi khlyeba ne syeyut", pitayutsya ryboyu, a yezdyat" (1) na medvyedyakh"). Witsen also found the same legend, that at the mouth of the Amur River "lives a savage people, called Gilaki, who keep many bears and dogs in order to utilize their services" (2). Finally, it is also found in Strahlenberg (3), for it says there: "at the mouth of the Amur River lives a people whom the Russians call Kilaki; some 'Yakut Tatars' have related to me about these people that they tame bears and use them as we do horses" (4).

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3. In the original the latter passage reads: "i medvyedei kormyat" v" ulusakh" dlya raboty mirno."

[192] 1. The Russian verb, yezdit', means both "to drive" and "to ride."

2. Witsen, Noord- en Oost Tartarye /Northern and Eastern Tartary/, 1705, p. 884.

[113] 3. Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, pp. 386, 387.

4. Witsen (op. cit., p. 686) was also told

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4. (cont.)
this fable by the Yukagir in the country of "Ssabatsia" (sobach'ya zemla = dog country) in Siberia, but he himself labeled the report doubtful.

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+796 The length of the bear's captivity depends on its age: old animals are kept in captivity only a few months; young ones for several years, until they are fully grown. When it has acquired a thick layer of fat as a result of plentiful food and lack of exercise, the time draws near to lead it with great pomp to its doom. The only season of the year in which bear festivals take place among the Gilyak is winter, for then they stay, at least on the mainland, in the spacious dwellings built in accordance with the Chinese pattern and have much time for social gatherings, festivities, and feasting; in fact, the abundance of time is probably the chief reason why they like to prolong them as much as possible. In particular December, or Anj-long of the continental Gilyak, is the month in which most of the bear festivals occur. But this is by no means obligatory; they may equally as well take place in January and February; indeed, I myself attended such a festival among the Olcha that did not begin until March 22 (April 3). But this is about the latest date for it, for by then preparations for the summer begin in earnest, and soon afterward, in April and at the beginning of May, the move to the
[756] summer dwellings is undertaken. Sometimes setting the date for when a bear festival is to take place is assigned to the shaman, but usually, as was mentioned, it is left to the owner of the bear or bears, who is also the host, and he will let it depend on his own business affairs and can, if the latter demand it, have a more or less long pause between the individual acts of the festival. As a result of this, as well as thanks to the great number of bears
[609] kept in captivity by the Gilyak and Olcha and the long duration
[123] of the whole festival, it may easily happen that the traveler in the country will encounter here or there an individual act of the festival, but usually on such an occasion the Gilyak, animated by mistrust and suspicion, try to keep such strangers from entering their dwellings by all kinds of pretexts, as I myself experienced on Sakhalin.

/699 cont./

*796 After these preliminary and general remarks concerning the bear festival of the Gilyak, I shall turn now to a detailed description of it. At the beginning of 1856, I was visited /700/ at the [123] Nikolayev post by the oft-mentioned Gilyak, Judin from Tebach, renowned among his countrymen as the organizer of great bear festivals. Since he was very favorably disposed toward me and even owed me a debt of gratitude, I asked him to give me an opportunity to attend one of these festivals from the beginning, whereupon I was told in reply that within the next few days such a festival was to take place at his house and that he had come to Tschorbach, as the Russian post was called by the Gilyak, precisely in order to make a few purchases for the forthcoming festival. ●[114] With my friend and later colleague at the Academy, C. Maximowicz, who was a skilled draftsman and happened to be visiting me at the time, we set out for Tebach on January 9 (21). After spending the night in Allof, we entered Wair about noon on the following day, where we saw traces of bear festivals that had already taken place: one of the houses was distinguished by a tall, slender little fir tree which stood in front of its transverse walls on either side and had most of the bark and all the branches removed up to the top, where a scanty crown towered over the gable of the house. A cord ran from one little tree to [778] the other, slightly above the ridge of the roof, and from it bundles of curled wood-shavings, the so-called zach of the Gilyak, hung down to the roof. A stick stuck in the snow near the house door likewise bore on its tip a fir branch and a bundle of wood shavings. There was a bright full moon when we drove up before Judin's house in Tebach, which was decorated just like the one in Wair. As we were driving up the long, bank steeply sloping down to the river, on whose ridge the village of Tebach lies, we heard noisy cries of jubilation, and now we saw a crowd of Gilyak moving about in front of the house. They were young *796 men from the village and other guests invited to the feast, who, 526 in a gay mood, were playing various games that are always [574] associated with a bear festival. The games looked very similar

/713 cont./
*796 läsng, and the cut-up pieces of meat and fat are kept in the storage chambers until it has been decided to resume the festival. But Judin did not seem to be in any hurry about that -- he was
*796 thinking instead of first going on a trading trip to Sakhalin. I regretted this delay, but I had the consolation of having seen the
•114 further course of the bear festival the previous year in the village of Uda. This village, to be sure, is no longer in the territory of
[171] the Gilyak, but in that of the Olcha, but since the entire custom of the bear festival was undoubtedly transmitted from the former to the latter, it is not likely, in view of the conservative nature of primitive peoples, that there are any essential differences between them in the main features of the festival. In Judin's house quiet had been restor[illegible]e many guests had departed, the dogs' table was set up agai[illegible]d /714/ uitsch-fears had given way to a
*796 greater freedom of movement inside the house. We stayed there
114 for another day: I in order to organize and complete the many
126 notes in my journal made during the past days, and Mr. Maximowicz in order to add the landscape background of Tebach to the sketches drawn from life. These sketches of my friend, now unfortunately deceased, are reproduced on Plates XI /p. 991/, XLVII /p. 1247/, and XLVIII /p. 1248/, as well as in the woodcuts on pages 1150 and 1151 of this work, after having been technically improved, with the strictest regard for all details, the former here on the spot by Mr. Dimitrijef-Orenburgskij, the latter by Mr. Fr. Russow, custodian of our museum.

*796 On the evening of January 15 we were again in Nikolayevsk, where I immediately began the preparations for my second trip to
114 Sakhalin. The day for my departure had already been set when Judin again appeared at my place. He had put the question bothering him, whether it would be more favorable to resume the previously begun bear festival before or after his planned trading trip, before some of the older members of the village, among whom there was also a shaman, and they were of the opinion that the festival should first be brought to a conclusion. He had therefore come to Nikolayevsk again in order to make a few purchases. In reply to his repeated invitation to come also, I

/714 cont./

*796 •114 [126] [127] asked him to invite to his house this time instead a friend of mine ("amal," as the Gilyak say), namely, Mr. von Ditmar, and, as his companion, Mr. von Brevern, who was well-known to us. The former promised me to keep a faithful journal concerning the further course of the bear festival in Tebach, and the latter -- to make sketches of it -- a promise that both gentlemen kept, having put at my disposal the highly rewarding material which they brought back from Tebach (1).

[113] 1. Mr. C. v. Ditmar, now unfortunately deceased (since April, 1892), is the famous explorer of Kamchatka and the author of the work, Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamtschatka /Journeys and Sojourn in Kamchatka/ (see Beiträge zur Kennt. des Russ. Reiches, Series 3, Vol. VII).

*796 824 When, on January 27 (February 7), at eight o'clock in the morning, Ditmar and Brevern arrived in Tebach and entered Judin's house, they found the dogs' table removed and the floor in the whole middle area of the house thickly covered with fir branches (again from Picea ajanensis, Gilyak twisk). In front of the second center-post of the house, standing opposite the bear hearth and near the bench of honor, stood a large, four-cornered rack profusely decorated likewise with fir branches, young fir trees, and curled wood-shavings (zach), and made out of alder poles, the trunks of small young trees, which, according to ancient custom, must always be unpeeled and tied together at the intersections only *796 with bast and the yarn of old fish-nets. From the uppermost shelf of this étagère-like rack, the unskinned heads of the two bears belonging to Judin looked down, as it were, into the yurt and upon the people in it, but the rest of the skins, except for /715/ the toes, claws, and soles, hung down to the ground behind the rack (1). On

[123] [126] 1. See Plate XLIX /p. 1249/. Because of the above-mentioned hindrances that the Gilyak

576 /721 cont./
*296 on it raw and cooked bear-meat and several strips of bear fat, as
574 well as a small heap of fine wood-shavings (zach). This was the
262 first bear meat that was eaten. The portions were very ample, and
[562] gradually everybody present in the house or newly arrived participated in the meal, indeed, even the women and children re-
[855] ceived their share of it, in that a few young people walked among
[415] the diners with bowls of a special shape (Pl. L /p. 1250 /, Fig. 5,
and Pl. LI /p. 1251 /, Fig. 1-- called ans-tymyk (2) in Gilyak)

[104] 2. The s in this word is to be pronounced soft, like the French z. The bowl is called ans-tymyk because of its similarity to a hand (tymyk).

and collected contributions to be divided among the women and children. The quantity of bear meat and fat consumed that day was therefore very great. What was left over of the portions /722/ that the guests had, they wrapped up in the fine wood-shavings and fir branches and took home -- a package that the Gilyak are said to call möps (1).

•[114] 1. A designation which I myself did not hear.

The gnawed bones, on the other hand, were put back into
the kettle from which the cooked meat had been distributed. As
the meal came to a close, an old man with a fir branch in his
hand stationed himself at the door of the house and, gently striking
each one, drove out everyone passing through it who had eaten
bear meat and fat -- an act which was supposed to be a sort of
[857] punishment for the misdeed committed against the bear. Once
outside, however, those who came out were less gently treated,
[533] for here they were greeted with a cross fire of snowballs with
which the boys pelted them, while the women drummed vigor-
[184] ously on the suspended beams. An identical meal with a similar
aftermath also took place in the house where the owner of the
third bear lived. Here, too, just as before, quantities of small
individual heaps of food -- sturgeon, mössj, etc. -- were put out

RX2
Goldi RX3
Olcha

G- +796 562 756 /722 cont./
It would therefore also be prohibited for the women, however, /723/ who are likewise able to practice this art, because they might easily misuse it simply out of revenge for their exclusion from the festive meals as a matter of principle.

G- +796 574 • 114 The bear festivals have no definite duration: the feasting goes on, with a constant rotation of the participants, relatives, friends, villagers, and other guests as long as the quantity of bear meat and fat lasts; in Tebach, Judin told his guests, Ditmar and Brevern, that it would last for many days since three bears had been killed. When, therefore, on the following day (February 1/13) the proceedings of the festival in fact began to be repeated in exactly the same way, they left this village and returned to Nikolayevsk.

G- +796 171 114 As was mentioned above, I had an opportunity in the previous year (1855) to witness this second part of the bear festival, concluding with the eating of the bear, among the Olcha in the village of Uda. My conjecture that their customs would not differ essentially from those of the Gilyak was in large part confirmed by Ditmar's report. As proof of this and at the same time as evidence of the adoption of Gilyak customs among the Olcha, I shall here insert a brief description of what I saw among them on this occasion, with reference to the above information about the Gilyak.

Gi 796 [114] When I arrived in the village of Uda, located only five versts below Kidsi, on March 22 (April 3) at about 10 o'clock in the morning and stepped into one of its five houses, I found it decorated in the interior in the same manner as is done among the Gilyak for an imminent bear-festival feast. Here, however, Gi [778] opposite the étagère decorated with the bear's head and skin and with numerous fir branches and wood shavings (Gilyak zach = Olcha gjamssassá), a second rack quite similar to the first one but somewhat smaller stood at the other central-post of the house and on its shelves likewise held meat and pieces of the fat of the dismembered bear, along with all kinds of other articles. Moreover, the passageway between the bear rack and the bench of honor was blocked off by a pole laid across it, and by means of it this bench, as well as the whole yurt, was divided into halves. The floor throughout the

G /729 cont./
*796 After this insertion on the bear festival of the Olcha, which
●114 seemed to me necessary for a comparison with the same festive act
262 among the Gilyak, let us again take up the thread of our descrip-
Gi tion of the bear festival of the Gilyak. We still lack any knowledge
796 of its final act: what happens to the skull and bones of the animal
114 after the fat, meat, and internal organs of the bear have been
262 eaten? Unfortunately I was not an eyewitness here, and I can only
report what I heard from the Gilyak and what must follow from
other facts. Ditmar left Tebach before this final act. He con-
cludes his notes from there with the remark that his further presence
there would apparently offend Judin and other Gilyak, and that the
repeated assertions by the former that he could not wait for the end
of the festival because it would drag out for a long time yet showed
G only too clearly the desire that he speed up his departure. On the
*796 262 day before, when the first bear-meat was eaten, the bear heads
Gi were still untouched and bore their snout and head bands. When I
796 arrived among the Olcha in Uda, I did not see these bands: if
262 they are used at all by the Olcha, they had already been removed;
the skull and the lower jaw had been removed from the skin and
were, as was said, set before the guests for the consumption of the
meaty parts. The former was not split, and I saw nothing of the
brain parts. It is not likely, however, that they would forgo these
especially tasty morsels. But in order to get at them, they must
G split the skull. From this one may surely conclude that the teachers
*796 of the Olcha, the Gilyak, do likewise and, after the other parts of
262 the bear have been eaten, finally skin the head and split the skull.
But this final blow directed against the bear, the splitting of its
skull, may be one of the acts that are preferably done in secret, or
at least not in the presence of strangers, and therefore Ditmar's
departure from Tebach was especially desired. Just like the re-
moval of the bear head from the skin, so most probably is the
splitting of the skull done in the house, where immediately or soon
G afterward its meat and the brain parts are eaten. Arguing in favor
*796 of this is the circumstance that the instrument with which the skull
412 of the bear is split is brought into the house at the very beginning
of the second act of the festival. /730/ It is a pickax (Gilyak

184 /734 cont./
*796 I was present at the bear festival in Tyk when the meat of
574 the animal was already being eaten, that is, toward the end of the
262 second act. Parts of the dismembered animal were still lying on
•[114] the bear rack, and among them the skull already cleaned of the
muscle meat, which I tried to buy, in vain, of course, from the owner of the animal. Several Gilyak busily eating their portions still sat on the benches, others were either crowding around them or in the passageways between the hearth and the benches, each one trying to snatch a piece of meat here or there with his knife. One of the members of the household was collecting contributions from the diners in a little trough in order to give them to the women and children, and similar troughs with pieces of bear meat were carried to the other yurts of the village. Even among the Amur Gilyak, when this time comes during the feast, formalities usually cease, and here not a trace of them remained -- everybody milled
[179] around informally in the narrow space. A meal of Manchu-Chinese
products, cereals and legumes, such as is customarily served to guests in the Amur villages in lavish amounts, seemed not to have preceded the eating of the meat, since the host and owner of the bear evidently was not one of the well-to-do and only a little of these products reach Sakhalin, and that only through the Amur Gilyak and Olcha. Under these circumstances it was understandable that in Duï, where soon thereafter a bear festival was celebrated amid a great conflux of participants, a subsequent celebration took place immediately afterward for the gratification of the latter, at which, lacking other food, dogs were eaten, as has already been mentioned above (1) in connection with the discussion of cynophagy among the Gilyak.

796 It struck me that on Sakhalin there was nothing to be seen
184 of any of the collateral entertainments, such as dog races, all
kinds of games for young and old, etc., which customarily accompany the bear festival among the Amur Gilyak. In summing up, one may conclude that among the Sakhalin Gilyak, especially in the region with earth yurts exclusively, that is, along the

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1. See pp. 661 and 662.

/764 cont./

758 uitsch and took him back to the village, where he died in November, 1854. Although when he was still alive, they had invited
764 me to his cremation, this was done (three days after the death)
● 114 during a violent purga, without their giving any notification (Bm. I, pp. 18, 19).

47. Gilyak. Everything possible in the way of food is put be-
764 side the deceased lying in the yurt; indeed, even after the cre-
765 mation of the corpse, all kinds of food, as well as liquor, are brought to the ashes for a period of one year because of the belief that the deceased takes nourishment for that long. The corpse, laid out on a sled in winter, is placed upon the funeral pyre, covered with loose branches, and the pyre is lighted. (Bm. I, p. 27.)

48. Gilyak. On May 19, 1856, we reached Chjare (with one
764 yurt on the right bank of the Amur), where I had a stop made at
[114] noon. I inquired about fish, but was told at once that no fish had been caught, because the old owner of the yurt had died the day before and was still lying unburied in the yurt. I went there immediately and saw the corpse lying on a sled on the floor in front of the dogs' table (Plate LXII /p. 1262/). It was the same old man who the year before had gone hunting with me on the nearby small lake. The corpse was not yet disfigured, but the color of the face had grown darker and, in fact, copper-colored, and the long white hair contrasted sharply with the face. The corpse was clothed in new blue cloth and covered over the torso with a covering of gray material, on which, over the chest of the corpse, lay three folded pieces of colored cloth and two spears, a larger one and a smaller one; such as the natives use, equipped with crudely
[824] worked, short shafts. Around the head and at the sides of the face lay fir branches; over the eyes ran a string with longish pieces of alder bast, threaded on it, three for each eye; a large red bead lay at each ear, and on the neck there was a thick bundle of fine curls of wood-shavings. The legs and the feet were wrapped in the same blue cloth as the whole corpse and were /765/ tied with a string around the ankles and over the toes so that they had the shape of boots. Placed crosswise on the narte /sled/, behind the head,

G- 764 [237] [294] [262]

/767 cont./
them in order to sew a fur coat (for the widow) from the skins. The meat of these sacrificial animals, however, is not eaten, but left on the place of the sacrifice and naturally becomes the booty of crows and also of the other hungry dogs of the village. (2 S.R.I, pp. 10-14.)

Gi 764 152

49. Goldi. In the village of Chongar (on the right bank of the Amur), while I was passing between two yurts that were some distance apart, I was startled by human wailing that came out of the grass, which was higher than a man's height. I investigated and saw a woman who sat there hunched together and wailing, staring at the sky. I watched her for a while and then inquired as to the reason for her mourning. She said in reply, buïke, that is, "dead," then stood up and explained to me that her husband had died in the next village and she was lamenting it. She did not seem to mind the interruption, and when I left, in order not to disturb her in her grief, she likewise went off (probably calmed by the interruption), giving up her lamentation, in the other direction toward the yurt (***). (I S.R. IV, p. 17.)

*** See Appendix 38 /p. 1219/, 48 /p. 1227/.

G- 764

Tombs

50. Gilyak. I learned from Jutschin the following concerning the burial of corpses among the Gilyak. The corpses are cremated, and the ashes are buried in a vessel in the ground, /768/ over which a little burial hut (raff) is erected (*). The

G ●[114]

* See the divergent statement in Appendix 48, p. 1227.

small points on the roof of the raff, as shown in the illustration Plate LXVIII /p. 1268/, Fig. 1) are called kargha (the r pronounced with a burr). In the interior of the raff there is a small linen-covered or cloth-covered board, pierced in the center and equipped with a peg, as a sign that a corpse is buried under the ground.

G [211]

/770 cont./

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represented various animals, bears, horses, hares, cocks, and ducks (Plate LXIX /p. 1269 /).

On the inside the raff was very opulently equipped. The usual articles in it, kakk, pyk-ngir, tcham-ngar, were so luxuriously made that they could hardly be recognized. The former was completely covered with a multicolored cloth, which bore brass ornaments such as the Gilyak women have on their robes, corresponding to the purpose of the kakk, namely, to carry the clothing for the deceased. -- Do the rags on the kakk perhaps come from the garments of the deceased? Very probably, since these rags are called okch, fur. -- A small Manchurian bowl served as pyk-ngir. The floor of the raff was covered with a fine reed or straw mat. Aside from the articles mentioned, there also lay in the raff a great number of birch-bark bowls (with berries, etc.), neatly stacked up, a small box in which lay a tobacco pouch and a pipe, another pipe which was for Kimrkan's daughter, and the like, and, finally, the braids of the two deceased women, cut off at the roots and wrapped in birch bark were preserved here (*).

* See p. 615, where raff is to be read instead of rakk.

764 Kimrkan himself took out the articles and showed them to me, evidently, however, without thinking much about the dead. Moreover, he had now replaced his late wife with three of them. Near the raff there was the cremation site of a corpse and next to it stood the raff that went with it. The raff is never erected directly over the ashes of the deceased, but apart from them (**).

[114]

** The reports concerning this, collected by the author in various places, differ in part from one another; cf. 47 /p. 1227/, 48 /p. 1227/, 51 /p. 1233/.

Kimrkan's deceased, for example, were cremated far in the forest, and their ashes were there, while the raff stood here near

Footwear, robes and overcoats were made of specially prepared skins of carp, Siberian salmon and pike, as well as seal and elk skin, dog-fur, etc. 291 237

Before the Revolution, neither men nor women cut their hair; they wore it braided—the men, in a single braid, the women, in two braids. 302

Social Relations and Religion

Problems of the ancient social order of the Nivkhi are particularly interesting in connection with the study of the origins of the family and marriage. Thanks to the well-known works of the Russian ethnographer L. Ya. Shternberg, we have a detailed descritpion of the clan organization of the Nivkhi (or Gilyaks, as they were called in the past) at the end of the last century. Shternberg conducted ethnographic studies of the Nivkhi for a number of years, and collected materials which attracted the attention of F. Engels. Engels wrote about Shternberg's work in a special article, "A Recently Discovered Instance of Group Marriage" (first published in Die Neue Zeit, 1892, and later, as an appendix to "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State"). 114

The Nivkhi were divided into exogamous clans (kk'khal), of which there were several dozen. Most of their names were taken from rivers, such as: Mybing, i.e., "those who live on the My River," Chombing—"those who live on the Chom River," and so on. Already in Shternberg's time, the Nivkhi clans no longer represented territorial and economic entities. A Nivkhi village was inhabited by members of various clans. However, the Nivkhi clan preserved many forms of social ties among clan kinsmen, expressed chiefly in family and marriage norms, and in religious rituals and customs. 614

The Nivkhi clan was patriarchal, with but a few relics of the more ancient matriarchal order. These relics included the special relationship with the mother's brother, who took part in receiving ransom for the murder of his sister's son, and also the custom of sending gifts and a share of every catch to sons- or brothers-in-law—which may have been a remnant of matrilocal marriage. [60]

The Nivkhi clan was a group of kinsmen along the male line, bound by strictly observed rules of clan exogamy: mutual duties in payment of blood-money (tkhusind), which replaced the vendetta among the Nivkhi; participation of clan members in the payment of bride-price and burial expenses; and the common clan cult (clan fire, clan organization of the bear festival, the clan storehouse for ritual objects, etc.).

In distinction to the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples of the Amur region, the Nivkhi took their wives, not from the clan to which they gave their women, but from a third clan. Thus, each clan was bound by marriage ties to at least two other clans. For example, the Khyyyegnung clan took its women from the Kegnang, the Kegnang from the Tykfing, and the latter from the Khyyyegnung. This was connected with the Nivkhi rule, which, in distinction to those of their Tunguso-Manchurian neighbors, permitted a man to marry the daughter of his mother's brother, but not the daughter of his father's sister. The clan from which men of a given clan took their wives was the former's akhmal'k (father-in-law); conversely, the clan to which the women of a given clan were given was called ymg'i (son-in-law). Hence, the Nivkhi themselves defined the clan as follows: "We have one (i.e., a common) akhmal'k (father-in-law), one ym'gi (son-in-law), one fire, one bear, one tkhusind (blood-money), and one sin."